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**FACTORS THAT AFFECT FOLLOWERS' PERCEPTION OF LEADER'S
TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP PERFORMANCE IN TAIWAN**

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Lynn University

By

Hungchun J. Chang

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Factors that affect follower's perception of leader's transformational leadership
performance in Taiwan

Hungchun J. Chang, Ph.D.

Lynn University, 2005

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To all those people mentioned above, this dissertation is dedicated with the heartfelt wish that joy and happiness be with them forever.

FACTORS THAT AFFECT FOLLOWERS' PERCEPTION OF LEADER'S TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP PERFORMANCE IN TAIWAN

By Hungchun J. Chang

April, 2005

ABSTRACT

Cognitive dissonance arises as a result of heterogeneous ethnic identities, contradicting religions, conflicting national identities, confronting political stances and ideologies, incompatible beliefs, and/or value systems that followers and their leaders possess. The purpose of this research study is to explore the influence on followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership performance, which may be affected by the heterogeneity in ethnic identities, national identities, political stances, and ideologies, or by the geographical regions, gender, and age in Taiwan.

Transformational leadership theory has been well documented in a considerable number of research studies in past decades. While most transformational leadership research has been focused on the leadership behavior from the leaders' perspective, few attempts have been made from the followers' perspectives to look into the influence on the transformational leadership performance implicated by the cognitive dissonance of followers.

This research study was conducted via survey questionnaires distributed to 1400 respondents in public or private sectors. The number of returned cases was 1141 in which 1121 were valid. The findings sustains that in Taiwan the followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership performance can be affected by the

heterogeneity in ethnic identities, national identities, political stances, or ideologies, but not by the geographical regions, gender, or age.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Background

Presidential elections take place every four years in Taiwan. The most recent one, the 2004 presidential election, drew to a close on March 20, 2004, but what followed afterwards was a frenzy of activities. Supporters of the Kuomintang Party and the People First Party (KMT-PFP), the so called Pan-Blue alliance, stormed the Central Election Commission of Taiwan, and staged a marathon of violent protests for days in front of the Presidential Palace to challenge what they called an unfair election after learning that their supporting pan-blue presidential candidate, Lien, who had this time joined forces with his former foe, Soong, had lost to Pan-Green Chen's re-election bid by less than 30,000 votes of overall 13 million votes (China Post, 2004).

The intensifying conflicts between the Pan-Blue alliance and the Pan-Green alliance demonstrated in the 2004 presidential election have notably polarized Taiwan's people and divided Taiwan society into two contrasting political positions. The contrasting political stances can be traced back to Chiang Kaishek's retreat from mainland China and his iron rule over Taiwan starting in 1949. Due to national identity issues that were never settled and heterogeneous ethnic identity groups, the political affiliations in Taiwan have been divided into two mainstreams: Pro-unity with China, the so called Pan-Blue alliance, and Pro-independence of Taiwan, the so called Pan-Green alliance (Taiwan, 2005; Pan-Green Coalition, 2004; Pan-Green Coalition, 2004; Taiwanese American, 2004). While all pre-election polls predicted that the opposing Pan-Blue alliance would lead the incumbent Pan-Green alliance by hundreds of

thousands votes, the official voting result confirmed that with a razor-thin margin of 0.29%, the Pan-Green presidential candidates Chen and Lu won the election. In response to the surprising outcome, scholars and political observers commented that the emergent "Taiwan identity" or "Taiwanese consciousness" rising in today's Taiwan contributes to the turn-around. Post-election opinion polls further confirmed this argument, indicating that more than 50 percent of Taiwan's people consider themselves Taiwanese rather than Chinese (Huang, 2004b). More than seven hundred phone interviewees admitted that the intensified confrontation of these two conflicting political stances ("Pan-Blue" and "Pan-Green") had fundamentally caused great strife with their friends, falling out with their spouses, quarrels among their siblings, discord to household harmony, and tensions in inter-personal relationships with their coworkers in a post-election survey conducted by the *China Times* newspaper (United Chinese News of Florida, 2004).

Presidential elections take place every four years in Taiwan, and feuds erupt intensely within families over which presidential candidate or political party should be steering Taiwan's future. In such feuds, parents quarrel with their children, couples fall out as enemies, siblings bicker, and strife arises with friends. Such feuds or confrontations take place not only within families but also get extended into workplaces, offices, and schools, and have become a common phenomenon in Taiwan's society today. This phenomenon becomes especially evident and is worth observation before and after the Taiwan presidential election (Taiwanese American, 2004). Confronting political stances, conflicting national identities, heterogeneous ethnic identities, or contradicting perceptions toward Taiwan's future are the reasons for such a phenomenon (Pan-Green Coalition, 2004; Pan-Green Coalition, 2004; Taiwanese American, 2004).

The wrestling between the Pan-Blue and Pan-Green alliances has extended its impact into private and public sectors and is worth observation. For instance, an investigation of whether the wrestling between the Pan-Blue and Pan-Green alliances has extended its impact into K-12 public schools is worthwhile. A principal generally is considered the representative of the school, and often speaks on behalf of the school. . As the soul of school administration, whether the principle achieves success in his or her leadership may have a significant impact on the school's future. In Taiwan's K-12 public schools, the appointment of principals is under the jurisdiction of educational bureaus, which are divisions of government administration. Not surprisingly, principals are under the influence of political maneuvers. Should a principal act on behalf of the school but with his/her own view point that does not necessarily represent the views of the majority of teachers, or a principal's moral reasoning does not uphold the best interest of all the school but his or her self-interest, confrontations of interest or conflicting cognitive value systems might be extended and evident at schools. Teachers might be cross at disparate viewpoints or value systems, such as confronting political stances or ideology, conflicting national identity, or heterogeneous ethnic identity. Consequently, the principal's leadership performance might be compromised by the teachers' perception. What is worse, school functioning might be hampered and the school mandates might be compromised. For principals to succeed not only in their role but also for fulfilling school mandates, principals need to overcome any potential unconstructive influence that consists of confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities or heterogeneous ethnic identities between himself/herself and his/her teachers. In this way, principals can continue to inspire, motivate, and energize their teachers to attain higher

levels of achievement toward their school's mandates and goals. Other than school settings, these arguments regarding effective leadership may well be extended and applied to the government agencies, public sectors, as well as private sectors in Taiwan.

Conceptual Underpinning for This Study

The conceptual underpinning for this research study is the cognitive dissonance extended from the cognized beliefs and values stimulated from the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, and heterogeneous ethnic identities. This conceptual underpinning of cognitive dissonance serves as a solid grounding and justification to conduct a dissertation research.

Though numerous studies on the leadership have been conducted, most of them mainly focus on various leadership theories or styles. The majority of leadership theoretical research studies have been conducted from the leaders' perspectives rather than from the followers' perspectives. Little research exists regarding the influence on the transformational leadership imposed by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities in today's society in Taiwan.

In addition, few studies provide empirical literature discussing the transformational leadership and cognitive dissonance from the followers' dilemmas. In the past, much has been done on the theoretical functioning and significance of transactional and transformational leadership. Most studies probe questions regarding leaders, such as leadership traits, leadership styles, characteristics or charismatic of leaders, behavior of leaders, what the leaders are expected to achieve, etc. Few research studies have been devoted to the extension of discussing the implications of confronting

political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, heterogeneous ethnic identities, diverse cultures, incompatible values and beliefs systems, confronting religions (e.g. Jewish, Muslim, and Islam), and cognitive dissonance on any of these subjects, from the perspective of followers.

Only a few scholarly inquiries focusing on the Taiwan ethnic and national identity in the form of critical analyses have been conducted. However, little research has been done to explore the relationship between the transformational leadership performance and the implications imposed by confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities. Future scholarly inquiry using critical analyses of theoretical and empirical literature are needed to explore how the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, heterogeneous ethnic identities affect the transformational leadership performance.

Furthermore, scholarly inquiries discussing the Taiwan ethnic or national identity did not cross the boundary to the transformational leadership paradigm. There exists a significant and researchable gap between the transformational leadership doctrines and the paradigm of cognitive dissonance arising from confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities.

It is the mission of this research study to investigate the transformational leadership by probing into the particular aspect of followers' perspective. A series of follower-oriented situational analyses of followers within distinct and diverse Taiwan social and political contexts are conducted. The effects of certain existent identities, political stances, ideologies, culture, values systems, beliefs, and religions, as well as cognitive dissonance, embedded in the followers, and how these effects influence the

transformational leadership performance are carefully examined by analyzing the data gathered.

Statement of the Problem

While numerous leadership studies mainly focusing on various leadership theories or styles were found, few scholarly inquiries discuss the relationship between the transformational leadership performance and confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities. Furthermore, no research studies examine the influence on the transformational leadership performance affected by confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities were found.

Few studies provide empirical literature discussing transformational leadership and cognitive dissonance from the followers' dilemmas, many of which were done in the past in light of the theoretical functioning and significance of transactional and transformational leadership. The primary focus of these studies was on the leaders to closely examine the leadership traits, the leadership styles, the characteristics or the charismatic of leaders, the behavior of leaders, or what the leaders are expected to achieve, etc. Only a few research studies have been devoted to the extension of discussing the implications of confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, heterogeneous ethnic identities, diverse cultures, incompatible values and beliefs systems, confronting religions (e.g. Jewish, Muslim, and Catholic), and cognitive dissonance on any of these subjects, from the perspective of followers.

For the leaders to achieve the goals of empowering, building follower commitment, and elevating followers to the greatest level possible, researchers (Burns,

1978; Bass 1985; Bass & Steidlmeier, 1998; Howell & Avolio 1992) have mainly focused on attempts to elevate, broaden, or bring in induced changes in the followers' beliefs and values. However, all were based on the assumptions that followers would not have problems or repercussions about altering their beliefs and values systems if shared values can be forged mutually.

Additionally, these previous studies did not take into account the degree of followers' willingness or unwillingness of giving up personal cognized beliefs and values systems and thus left ample room for discussion. Furthermore, these previous studies did not provide enough evidence to support that the followers would be unconditionally willing to alter or discard their own cognized beliefs and values systems even if shared values or vision can be forged. This point of argument contributes to the motivation of conducting a literature review in chapter two to unveil hidden implications to the leaders' transformational leadership performance when leaders and their followers are possessing confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities.

In summary, the literature regarding the implication of the leaders' transformational leadership affected by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities is quite limited. There have been no studies on the aforementioned implications assessing the existence of a continuum of transformational leadership and cognitive dissonance behavior. Furthermore, little to no empirical study has been made to establish such a typology.

Significance and Importance

For scholarly knowledge base to grow significantly, any gaps identified in the contemporary scholarly literatures should be sought and filled. It is also equally important to make recommendations for further studies to investigate the influence on the leaders' transformational leadership performance affected by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities or heterogeneous ethnic identity in today's society in Taiwan. This research study contributes to the literature by identifying how a leader's transformational leadership performance is affected by the confronting political stances and ideologies, conflicting national identities, and heterogeneous ethnic identities between the leader and his/her followers. With recommendations put forth as their reference, leaders can benefit from being able to recognize, avoid, or positively overcome the aforementioned potential unconstructive influence imposed by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identity. Followers can also benefit from continuously being inspired, motivated, and energized by their leaders and work collaboratively to achieve higher levels of performance and responsibilities toward organization's mandates, if any, and goals.

As former Taiwan president Lee Teng-hui commented, the March, 2004 presidential election marked the start of another stage in the development of a Taiwanese identity (Wen, 2004). It is in such a context of the aftermath from the crisis created by the confronting political stances and ideologies, conflicting national identities, and heterogeneous ethnic identities that this research study intends to look into the need for developing a conceptual framework. The goal of this research is to provide not only a

thorough examination of the existent political phenomena in today's Taiwan but also some alternative solutions to the preexisting ethnic conflict. This research study also seeks to refine, revise, or extend existing knowledge that has been tainted by political propaganda in the past.

This research study is expected to benefit both practitioners and professional peers. The findings from this research study can provide leaders in both public and private sectors in Taiwan with a thorough view of the existing crises created by the confronting political stances and ideologies, conflicting national identities, and heterogeneous ethnic identities. In addition, this research study is expected to help develop solutions to address and pave these crises by contributing to the existing pool of knowledge regarding the crises created by the confronting political stances and ideologies, conflicting national identities, and heterogeneous ethnic identities.

Assumption

This research study extends and uses the traditional cognitive dissonance theory as a means to examine the relations between the transformational leadership and the implications imposed by confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, and heterogeneous ethnic identities.

This research study intends to re-map transformational leadership and the assumption of cognitive dissonance stemming from the confronting political stances, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities. More specifically, the assumption is that cognitive dissonance theory can be extended to predict or assess the

implication generated from the confronting political stance, conflicting national, or heterogeneous ethnic identity.

Definition of Key Terms

Leadership

Burns (1978) defines leadership as “Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers” (Burns, 1978, p. 18).

Pan-Blue Alliance vs. Pan-Green Alliance

As demonstrated in the 2004 presidential election, Taiwan’s people and society are remarkably polarized into two contrasting political positions: the Pan-Blue alliance and the Pan-Green alliance as a result of the intensifying conflicts of confronting political stances, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities.

The Pan-Blue alliance and the Pan-Green alliance are the two mainstreams of the political affiliations in Taiwan: Pro-unity with China, the so-called Pan-Blue alliance, and Pro-independence of Taiwan, the so-called Pan-Green alliance (Taiwan, 2005; Pan-Green Coalition, 2004; Pan-Green Coalition, 2004; Taiwanese American, 2004). These two contrasting political stances can be traced back to Chiang Kaishek's retreat from mainland China and his iron rule over Taiwan starting in 1949, national identity issues that were never settled, heterogeneous ethnic identity groups.

Pan-Blue Alliance: Pan-Blue Alliance is a political coalition, consisting of the Kuomintang, the People First Party, and the New Party (Taiwan, 2005). The name Pan-Blue comes from the party colors of the Kuomintang. This coalition tends to favor a Chinese nationalist identity over a Taiwanese separatist one and favors a softer policy and greater economic linkage with the People's Republic of China.

Pan-Green Alliance: Pan-Green Alliance is opposed to the Pan-Blue Alliance. The Pan-Green Alliance is a political coalition consisting of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU), and the Taiwan Independence Party (TAIP) (Taiwan, 2005). The name comes from the colors of the Democratic Progressive Party. In contrast to the Pan-Blue Alliance, the Pan-Green Alliance tends to favor Taiwan independence over Chinese reunification, although both coalitions moderate their policies to reach swing voters.

Taiwan Independence

Taiwan should be recognized internationally as an independent state from the People's Republic of China (PRC). This should be true regardless of the PRC's claim to the island, and regardless of whether or not the people of Taiwan democratically decide to become a Chinese Province or if they decide to continue their current status as a sovereign and independent nation (Taiwan Independence, 2004b).

Limitations

The scope of this research study is limited to the availability of access to public and private sector resources and the randomly selected participants available in the public and the private sectors in Taiwan.

The limitations may include but are not limited to:

- 1) The conclusion and the interpretation of data analysis can only apply to the participating type of organizations and/or business entities in Taiwan.
- 2) This research study is confined with limited human and monetary resources, as well as a time constraint.
- 3) The responses to the survey questionnaire are subject to the participant's emotion, recognition, subjective, and/or discretion. Therefore, the research result may be compromised with a certain degree of inaccuracy.
- 4) The survey of a participant's perception of his/her leader's transformational leadership performance is subject to the participant's own recognition from his/her own perspective. There is no corresponding survey or field interviews conducted for the participants' leaders. Consequently, there is no cross-examination of perspectives from both participants and their leaders to better and objectively inspect the transformational leadership performance of participants' leaders.

Summary

Before and after the March 2004 Taiwan presidential election, national identity, ethnic identity, and Taiwan identity have emerged noticeably as Taiwan people's self-awareness in Taiwan society today. The result of March 2004 Taiwan presidential election shows that the Taiwan people are divided into two equal contrasting positions – 50.114% of voters prefer Taiwan independence and Taiwan identity while 49.886% of voters oppose or do not concur of that.

As the whole society in Taiwan has been divided into two sectors opposing against each other and the phenomenon of feuds within family, friends, and workplaces also has become more obvious and observable everywhere in Taiwan society (China Post, 2004; Huang, 2004b), this research study aims at examining or revealing the influence on the transformational leadership affected by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities or heterogeneous ethnic identities in public and private sectors in Taiwan. Several considerations play major roles in choosing a quantitative research method over a qualitative research method or a mixed method for this research study. These considerations include:

- The nature of this research study to explore and reveal the meaningfulness of the aforementioned social phenomenon can be quantified.
- There are meaningful variables and relations between variables to be discovered in this research study.
- The data gathering can and must be done through survey to conclude any statistical significance.
- The data interpretation and the content analysis can be conducted in a statistical analytical approach.
- The aforementioned social phenomenon is being viewed by the primary researcher through holistic and quantitative lens.
- One or more quantitative strategies are being adopted by the primary researcher as a guideline for procedures in this quantitative research study.

Based on the above considerations, a quantitative research method is selected to take place within a natural setting and to help explore the underlying facts. The first step

of this research study is to clearly identify the implications of confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities. The second step is to simplify the measurement of transformational leadership performance. The measurement instrument selected in this research study is adapted from Ju's (2002) leadership performance research study (Ju, 2002). The third step in this quantitative research study is to carefully locate the populations with the most suitable characteristics for the proposed future research study. The final step is to address the external validity concerns by locating the proper sample population and selecting proper sample size. The research methodology narrowed its focus on the specific population in which leaders and followers having most strong and observable characteristics in relation to the conflicting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction to the Literature Review

The Factors That Affect Followers' Perception of Leader's Transformational Leadership Performance in Taiwan

Purpose

The purpose of this critical analysis of theoretical literature and empirical studies is: (1) to examine the relationship between transformational leadership, political stances, ideology, political identity, ethnic identity, and national identity, (2) to critically identify the influence on the followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership implicated by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, and/or heterogeneous ethnic identities between leaders and their followers in today's society in Taiwan, and (3) to identify areas for future scholarly inquiry.

With the above-mentioned purposes attained, the findings from this research study can be beneficial to today's Taiwan society by recognizing the intricate factors underlying cognitive dissonance. Knowledge and recognition of these findings should be of value for the success of transformational leadership in private and public sectors in Taiwan.

Organization of the Review, Scope, and Library Research Plan

Organization of the Review

This review of theoretical and empirical literature begins with research in fundamental leadership theories. Theoretical frameworks of leadership traits, leadership behaviors, and leadership styles are reviewed. Such leadership styles as coercive leadership and others that are not related to transformational leadership were purposely excluded from this literature review. Next, the theoretical and the empirical frameworks of political stance, ideology, political identity, ethnic identity, national identity, Taiwan identity, and identity politics are inspected. The political environment, social culture, Taiwan ethnicity, and developing trend of Taiwan national identity are also examined. Furthermore, an in-depth review of the context of cognitive dissonance is conducted to seek a catalyst for examining the paradigm of transformational leadership and the paradigm of implications from confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, and heterogeneous ethnic identities into one continuum. Finally, various instruments and underlying theories, as well as questionnaires used in transformational leadership performance measurement are also reviewed to find out a best suitable questionnaire for future studies. Again, the focus of this literature review is the influence on the followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership implicated by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities between leaders and their followers.

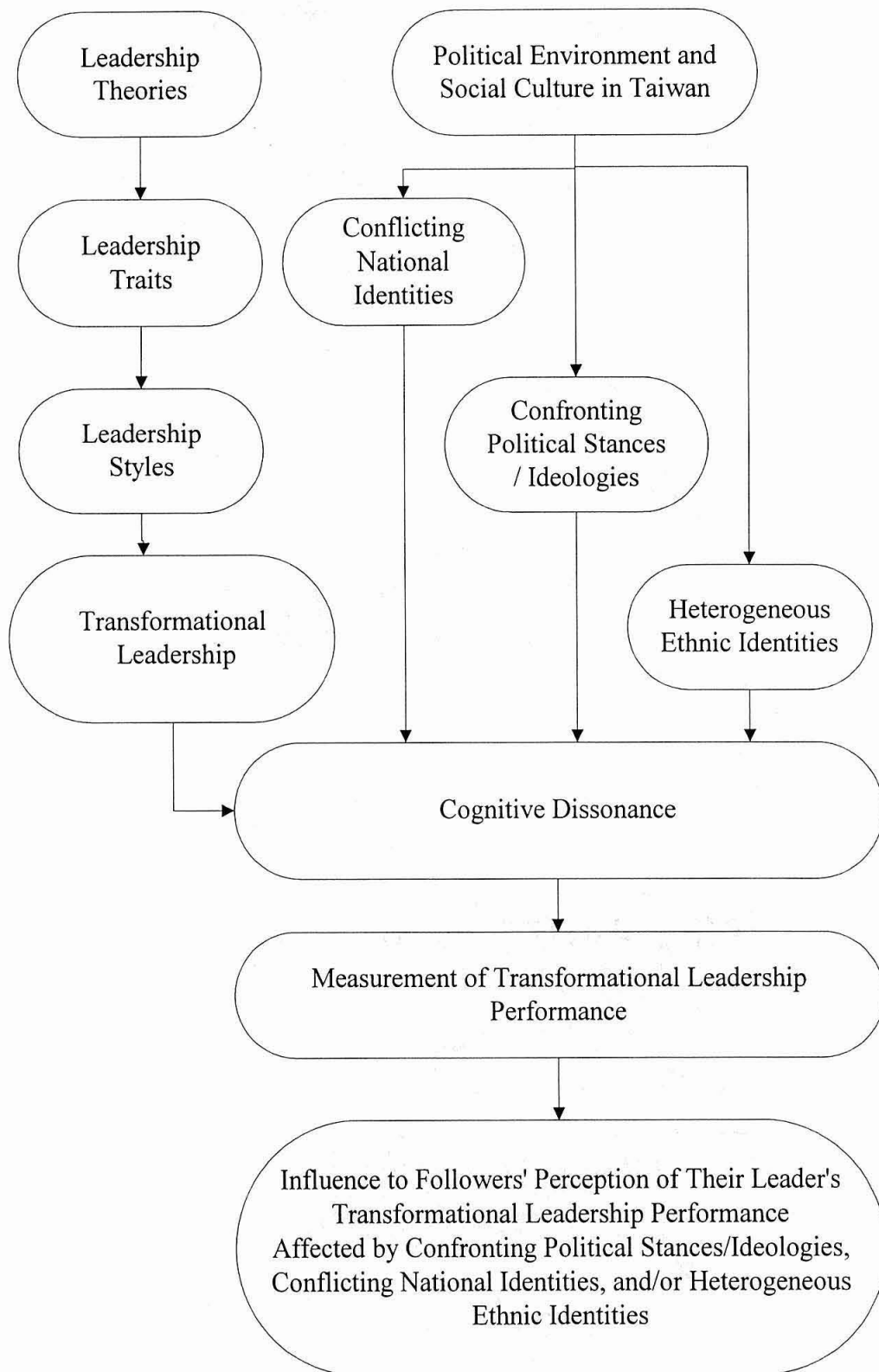


Figure 1. Leadership Map

Scope and Context

The scope of this literature review is limited to examining the influences on the leaders' transformational leadership performance as affected by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities. The effects from confronting religions or incompatible beliefs and values systems are beyond the scope of this review of literature.

This literature review is conducted in a deductive approach: (1) to review the fundamentals of leadership theories, the basics of leadership traits, rudiments of leadership styles, and transformational and transactional leadership; (2) to probe into the political environment and social culture, as well as the root and developing trend of the national identity, the ethnic identity, the political identity, and recently emergent Taiwan identity in Taiwan's society from a historical lens, and how they are related to the transformational leadership; (3) to review the identity politics and how it relates to the transformational leadership performance; (4) to review the current political environment and social culture in Taiwan; (5) to review cognitive dissonance and evaluate how it relates to the confrontations of political stances, ideologies, and identities to the transformational leadership; and (6) to review the methodology, instruments, measurements, and questionnaires used in measuring the transformational leadership performance.

Library Research Plan

The library research plan used in this review is the culmination of years of contemplation, interest, and personal observation and experience. Peer reviewed articles were retrieved from ProQuest and other scholarly article databases, Taiwan Dissertation Databases, and Google databases on topics of Taiwan national identity, Taiwan ethnic identity, political identity, identity politics, cognitive dissonance, and measurement of transformational leadership. Key words used in searching such peer reviewed articles include “Taiwan national identity,” “Taiwanese ethnicity,” “Taiwan ethnic identification,” “national identity,” “ethnic identity,” “political stand,” “political stance,” “ideology,” “political stances” impact to political stance,” “political identity,” “identity politics,” “impact of political stand,” “influence of political stand,” “impact to educational leadership,” “influence to educational leadership,” “ impact to transformational leadership,” “influence on transformational leadership,” “methodology,” “measurement of transformational leadership,” “meta-analysis,” “ MLQ,” “questionnaire,” and “cognitive dissonance.”

The review of articles also includes seminal research studies that date back to 1960s and 1970s.

Searches of publications and scholarly peer reviewed journals including theoretical literature, research reviews, and methodological studies were conducted mainly through Lynn University Library and Broward County Library. Secondary sources are used to cite earlier seminal theoretical research, empirical studies, and ground theories that are relevant to the topic. Books of fundamental leadership research were ordered through *Amazon* Bookstore whenever available or through loans via Lynn

University Library and the Broward County Library. A search of related dissertations was also conducted using the aforementioned key words. The primary sources of leadership information used are books and seminal articles, and the primary sources of political science are journals, articles, newspapers, magazines, and books.

Interest, Significance, and Rational for the Critical Analysis

It is important to review the literature and to make a critical analysis of the theories and empirical studies that have been conducted for identifying gaps in the literature. It is also equally important to make recommendations for further studies of investigating the influence on the transformational leadership performance affected by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities or heterogeneous ethnic identity in the public and private sectors in Taiwan. Hence, leaders can benefit from being able to skirt or overcome the aforementioned potential unconstructive influence imposed by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identity. Followers can also benefit from continuously being inspired, motivated, and energized by their leaders and work collaboratively to achieve higher levels of performance and responsibilities toward organization mandates and goals.

Review of the Literature Regarding the Factors Affecting Followers' Perception of Leader's Transformational Leadership Performance in Taiwan

The purpose of this critical analysis of the theoretical and empirical research is: (a) to examine the relationship between transformational leadership and the confronting political stances or ideologies, different political identifies, conflicting national identities, and heterogeneous ethnic identities, (b) to critically identify the influence on the transformational leadership as affected by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities between principals and their teachers in Taiwan educational institutions, and (c) to identify areas for future scholarly inquiry.

In light of the purposes outlined above, this literature review focuses on the following areas: (1) definition of leadership; (2) leadership theories; (3) exploration and research on transactional, transformational, and political leaderships; (4) research of political stance and ideology; (5) Taiwan identity, national identity and ethnic identity; (6) cognitive dissonance; and (7) instruments, theories, measurements, and questionnaires used in assessing transformational leadership performance.

Definition of Leadership

Leader Values (2004) provides the following clear-cut definition of leadership: "Leadership is a process of influencing people while operating to meet organizational requirements and improving the organization through change." More specific definitions of leadership put forth by other scholars are as follows.

Burns (1978) defines leadership as "Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers" (Burns, 1978, p. 18).

John Gardner (1990) defines leadership as "a process of persuasion or example by which an individual or a leadership team induces a group of followers to pursue objectives held by the leader or shared by the leader and his or her followers" (Gardner, 1990, p. 1).

Warren Bennis' (1986) and Howard Gardner (1995) take into account the individual traits and capability of the leaders. Bennis (1986) defines leadership as "a function of knowing yourself, having a vision that is well communicated, building trust among colleagues, and taking effective action to realize your own leadership potential" (Christian Leadership World, 2004). Regarding the traits of a leader, Howard Gardner (1995) provides a detailed description. According to Gardner, "a leader is an individual or a set of individuals who have abilities to significantly affect the thoughts, feelings, and/or behaviors of a significant number of individuals" (Gardner, 1995).

Development of Leadership Theories

According to Yukl (2002), leadership has been studied in many different ways, varying from the researchers' methodological preferences, definition of leadership, essentials of leadership, or aspects of research. Given the various lines of research that include leader traits, behavior, power and influence, and situational approaches (Yukl, 2002, p.19), most researchers deal only with one narrow aspect of leadership, and as a result, most studies fall into distinct lines of research.

Prior to 1990s, the leadership research studies, in general, can be categorized into three eras. From early 1900 to 1940, the so-called "Trait Theory" leadership researchers focused on finding certain special personality traits that effective leaders had in common. From 1940 to 1960, the paradigm shifted to an emphasis on the observable behavior that made a leader effective, the so-called "Behavior Theory". Then from 1960 to 1980, the paradigm evolved to the theory known as "Situational Theory". In the 1980s, due to myriad national problems, leadership researchers in the United States targeted at solving chronic crisis and faults on corporate governance, at developing visions to transcend organizations, and at helping the United States deal with its loss of stature in the global economy while manage to maintain its excellence in the world (Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 60).

In the 1990s, the world was entering an unprecedented era. The rise of global competition, the increased complexity and change, and the demise of hierarchy and position power all contributed to new broad challenges (McFarland, Senn, & Childress, 1994). The world was in tremendous need of leaders who could envision differing responses to the dynamically evolving world. These change, demand, and many other factors steered the direction of leadership research studies. From the 1990s, scholarly attempts to analyze leadership have contributed to diverse definitions, theories, models, and applications. Such new and different leadership concepts as transformational leadership, charismatic leadership, etc. emerged as a response (Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 60).

Leadership Trait Theories

The universal theory of leadership is: certain personal characteristics and skills contribute to leadership effectiveness in many situations. Under this theory, certain leadership traits are universally important – i.e. they apply in all situations. Dubrin (2001, p.28) put forth and classified these leadership traits into three categories: (1) general personality traits, (2) motives, and (3) cognitive factors. Within the general personality traits category, Dubrin (2001) identifies eleven characteristics that contribute to successful leadership: self-confidence, trustworthiness, extroversion, assertiveness, emotional stability, enthusiasm, sense of humor, warmth, high tolerance for frustration, passion for the work and the people, and emotional intelligence.

Howard Gardner (1995), in his probes of eleven individuals, regards early childhood as an important factor in the development of individual traits. He maintains that such examples of charismatic leaders as Charles de Gaul or John F. Kennedy were blessed with a striking appearance that helps draw audiences to them. Other examples, like Gandhi or Hitler, though looking ordinary or even peculiar in appearance, possess certain traits or charisma that stem from their unusual personalities or mien, or even from a remarkable life course (Gardner, 1995, p. 33).

Big Five Personality Traits

Yukl, in his book *Leadership in Organizations* (Yukl, 2002, p. 192), states that the five broadly defined personality traits in the taxonomy are: Surgency, Dependability, Agreeableness, Adjustment, and Intellectance. In Juniper (2004), popular Big Five personality traits are: Extroversion, Conscientiousness, Openness to Experience, Emotional Stability, and Agreeableness.

Great Man Theory

Great-man theory proposes that leaders are born rather than made. This is a theory held by some researchers who aim to explain history by the impact of "great men", i.e. highly influential individuals. What are the traits that shape such highly influential leaders as Moses, Abraham Lincoln, Winston Churchill, Dwight Eisenhower, JFK, Martin Luther King, etc.? How do these leaders build their prowess of leadership and shape history? There are also studies about companies turned around by great leaders like Lee Iacocca. Woods (1913) contends that "genetic inheritance" is the key that makes these figures great leaders. According to Wiggam (1931), "the survival of the fittest" and "the marriage with the right connections" lead to an aristocracy of leadership (Leadership Theories, 2004).

Bennis and Nanus (1985) disagree on the Great Man theory of leadership that attributes the power to the character and limits the number of potential leaders based on birthright. Their research also refutes the idea that great events can transform ordinary individuals into great leaders (Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 62).

Yukl (2002) and Razik (2001) claim that early studies on leadership simply assumed that individuals possessed certain physical characteristics (e.g., height, appearance), aspects of personality (e.g., self-esteem, dominance, and emotional stability), personality traits, and aptitudes (e.g., general intellectual abilities, verbal fluency, creativity) that made them natural leaders. In these studies, successful leaders and unsuccessful leaders were compared, and correlation analyses were conducted to examine if possessing specific traits could be a prerequisite for effective leadership. Nonetheless,

no definite conclusions of correlation were given in their books (Yukl, 2002, p. 177; Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 62).

Yukl (2002) makes clear that some methodological and conceptual limitations hinder most trait studies that examined the relationship of individual traits or skills with leadership effectiveness or advancement. One obstacle is the abstract nature of most traits that seemly limited the utility used in the trait studies for understanding the leadership effectiveness. Another obstacle results from the fact that when traits were examined one at a time, the results were usually weak and difficult to interpret, and thus the research failed to consider how traits were interrelated to one another and how traits interacted to affect a leader's behavior and leadership effectiveness (Yukl, 2002, p. 201).

Behavioral Theory

Behavior theorists have researched the behavior of leaders and their effects on the subordinates' productivity and work satisfaction over time. Lewin, et al. (1939) conducted studies of leadership behavior at University of Iowa and examined the effect of three leadership styles on subordinate attitudes and productivity. The three leadership styles examined in their study are: democratic, authoritarian, and laissez-faire. These leadership styles were found to be consistent with the behavior attributes which the individual leaders demonstrated in their control on their subordinates – from overall control (authoritarian) to complete freedom choice (laissez-faire) (Lewin, Lippit, & White, 1939).

Ohio State Leadership Studies

During 1950s, the research of leadership behavior conducted at Ohio State University indicates that subordinates perceived their supervisor's behavior primarily in terms of two broadly defined categories: (1) consideration concerning task objectives; and (2) initiating structure concerned with interpersonal relations. In the first category, the leader acts in a supportive and friendly manner, exhibits his or her concerns for subordinates, and looks out for the subordinates' welfare. In the second category, the leader defines not only his or her own role but also the roles of subordinates toward attaining group's formal goals (Yukl, 2002, p. 49-50).

Michigan Leadership Studies

A second major research of leadership behavior was carried out at the University of Michigan. The Michigan research focused on the identification of relationships among leader behavior, group processes, and measures of group performance. The Michigan research shows three types of leadership behavior, which are: (1) task-oriented behavior, (2) relationships-oriented behavior, and (3) participative leadership differentiate effective and in-effective managers (Likert, 1961).

Yukl (2002) maintains that in the task-oriented behavior, effective managers concentrate on task-oriented functions and guide subordinates in setting performance goals that are high but still attainable. The task-oriented behavior appears similar to the "initiating structure" behavior category identified in the Ohio State leadership studies. In the relations-oriented behavior, Yukl (2002) suggests that effective managers are proven to be more supportive and helpful to their subordinates. The relations-oriented behavior is similar to the "consideration" behavior category in the Ohio State leadership studies.

Furthermore, in participative leadership, Yukl (2002) asserts that effective managers use more group supervision rather than supervising each subordinate individually in such areas as decision-making process, communication improvement, cooperation promotion, and conflict resolution (Yukl, 2002, p. 52-53).

Iowa Leadership Studies

Lewin, et al. (1939) in their studies of leadership behavior at the University of Iowa examined the effect on the subordinates' attitudes and productivity and identified three leadership styles: authoritarian, democratic, and laissez-faire (White & Lippitt, 1990).

Lewin et al.'s (1939) studies were highly criticized due to its biased setting – the studies were conducted with young boys only but not adults as subjects. This study can hardly be generalized to a business setting. Despite this major shortcoming, Lewin et al.'s studies are considered as a classic research effort on the effects of leadership styles on subordinates' attitudes and productivity (Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 62). In light of this, the literature reviews of three leadership styles are further extended as follows.

Autocratic Style

An authoritarian leader determines all policies for group members and details methods of goal attainment. An authoritarian leader also has the overall vision, shares methods step by step as required, specifies allowable actions and interactions, and provides praise and criticism. Under an autocratic leadership style, Lewin et al. (1939) found little discontent when the leader holds high standards but, in contrast, much discontent when the leader enjoys dominance for his or her own sake.

In terms of production level, subordinates exhibit more dependence and less individuality with authoritarian leaders. Moreover, production level remains high when the group is satisfied with its efforts, but work effort tends to slack when the leader is absent.

Negative reaction could also develop when the group is under constant stress to produce (Lewin, et al. 1939).

Democratic Style

Based on their research, Lewin, et al. (1939) came to the conclusion that democratic leadership is most preferred by subordinates. In democratic leadership, members gain satisfaction in making their own decisions, growing in self-acceptance and confidence, and become more willing to listen to the ideas of others and promote communication. Furthermore, the leaders and the members function more as peers and colleagues (Lewin, et al. 1939). Ironically, productivity is found to be slightly higher with an authoritarian leadership style than with a democratic leadership style (Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 62).

Laissez Faire Style

In laissez faire leadership, members enjoy the complete freedom in making their own decisions and the resources provided for them, but leaders offer little information nor feedback unless asked. Lewin, et al. (1939) in their study found that members under laissez faire leadership have little sense of accomplishment, suffer lack of clear goals or clarity on how to achieve goals, or do not have a clue of what is expected of them, etc. Moreover, when direction from the leader is absent, members do not develop self-confidence and tend toward idleness (Lewin, et al. 1939). However, despite the weak

points mentioned above, laissez faire leadership style is favored over the authoritarian style by subordinates (Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 62).

Universal Leadership

In an attempt to identify one leadership style that is optimal in all circumstances, Blake and Mouton (1981), and Likert (1961, 1967) suggest that effective leaders are not only supportive but also task oriented. In various cases, the value orientation, rather than the behavior pattern of the leader, becomes the salient theoretical concept. In addition, studies postulate that leader behavior and trait research should be combined, and the contention is that traits and leadership qualities both influence leader behavior and leadership effectiveness (Mazzarella & Grundy, 1989; Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 64).

After conducting research on many managers and executives, McGregor (1990a, 1990b) infer that most managers and executives in his studies seem to subscribe to one of two clearly distinct attitudes or perspectives about average human beings. The following are two perspectives presented by McGregor that leaders use in dealing with their workers, Theory X and Theory Y (Theory X and Y, 2004).

Theory X

According to Razik and Swanson (2001) and *Theory X and Y* (2004), Theory X is based on three basic assumptions. First, people dislike work inherently and try to avoid it. Management must take certain measures to counteract this natural tendency. Second, people must be coerced, controlled, directed, or even threatened in order to achieve organizational goals. This theory holds that rewards will not bring about achievement; only external coercion, control, and threats will. Third, people are lazy, irresponsible,

searching for security, and want to be controlled. At the time McGregor conducted most of his research, Theory X managers were prevalent and such managers tended to maintain that most people are self-centered, childish, lazy, not very intelligent, not creative, and not very willing to assume responsibility of any sort.

Theory Y

McGregor (1990b) also describes a growing number of Theory Y managers who tended to see the upside of human nature, human potential for creative work and responsible decision-making. Such managers believe that on average, people are intelligent, relatively creative, willing to work for goals related to their own welfare, and eager to assume responsibility for things that matter to them. Theory Y is therefore based on six quite different assumptions. First, people work voluntarily when conditions are appropriate. Second, when conditions are appropriate, people will seek responsibility. Third, people will achieve organizational goals to which they are committed. Fourth, commitment to organizational goals enhances in proportion to the rewards of goal achievement. Fifth, many people possess the ability to solve organizational problems. Sixth, human intellectual potential is not fully utilized in organization settings. Theory Y, established in human growth, development, and selective adaptation rather than direct control, implies that leaders may pose certain constraints that impede workers from exerting their full potential in the organizational setting. Thus, Theory Y challenges many routine actions and beliefs of leaders that operate from Theory X assumptions (Theory X and Y, 2004; Razik & Swanson, 2001).

The central principles of Theory X and Theory Y are summarized. The central principle of Theory X is based on the belief that followers need direction, discipline, and

control through the exercise of authority (McGregor, 1990a, p. 21). Theory Y's central principle, the integration principle, is based on the belief that followers can achieve their goals best by working toward organizational success (Razik & Swanson, 2001).

Theory Z

In his book *Theory Z*, William Ouchi (1981) describes the characteristics of the Japanese companies that produce high employee commitment, motivation, and productivity. Ouchi (1981) puts forth a third theory, Theory Z. Theory Z combines elements of Theory X and Theory Y, and offers ways to improve relationships between leaders and followers. Ouchi's Theory Z provides different strategies and perspectives for organizing human effort, focusing on consensual decision-making and a team approach to organizational processes and change. Unlike Theory X and Theory Y, Theory Z defines the leader's style according to the leader's ability to create an environment with trust, open communication, and commitment to organizational goals (Theory Z, 2004; Razik & Swanson, 2001).

Theory Z views an organization as the development of informal relationships between people, which emphasizes the individual person over a narrow role distinction. While dehumanization, authoritarianism, and class distinctiveness are found in Theory X and Theory Y organizations and thus leaders and followers are eventually alienated, these qualities are eliminated in Theory Z, and in order to overcome alienation, Theory Z advocates maintain that shared goal development undertaken by both leaders and followers contributes to consistent organization culture development. This development forms a type of assurance for the leaders, who hope that the followers' efforts are in close and constant keeping with organizational goals and objectives (Razik & Swanson, 2001).

Behavior research and study have been seeking to identify the patterns of behavior and skills that could be taught to potential leaders. However, Lunenburg & Ornstein (1991) point out that behavior research does not take into consideration the situational factors (i.e., task differentiation, group composition, environmental variable) that influence leadership behavior. Furthermore, instead of treatment, behavioral variables must be examined as interrelating factors (Smith & Peterson, 1989). These previous studies were first criticized for their leadership research but were later recognized as contribution for efforts to explain leadership from a more systemic view (Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 64).

Situational Theory

The situational approach emphasizes the importance of contextual factors that can exert influence on the leadership processes. The major situational variables include: the quality of leader-subordinate relations, leader's position power, the degree of task structure, the characteristics of followers, the nature of work performed by the leader, the type of organization, the subordinate maturity, decision quality importance, and the nature of the external environment (Yukl, 2002, p. 13; Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 71).

The first pioneer situational study was Fiedler's (1967) LPC contingency model that describes how the situation moderates the relationship between leadership effectiveness and a trait measure called the "least preferred coworker (LPC) score" (Yukl, 2002, p. 209; Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 70 - 71). Yukl (2002), drawing on previous situational studies besides Fiedler's, comments that previous situational studies can be generally sub-divided into two categories: (1) two or more situations are compared to discover the extent to which leadership processes are the same or unique across different

types of organizations, level of management, and cultures, (2) aspects of the situation that moderate the relationship of leader attributes (e.g. traits, skills, behavior) to the leadership effectiveness are identified (Yukl, 2002, p. 13).

LPC Contingency Theory

Fiedler (1967) examined the situation, people, tasks, and organizations, with hypotheses that leaders can improve their effectiveness by modifying situations to fit their leadership styles. Fiedler identified three situational factors that influence leadership effectiveness, which are: (1) the quality of leader-subordinate relations, (2) the leader's position power, and (3) the degree of task structure (Yukl, 2002, p. 209; Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 70).

Fiedler's study is considered as a milestone because, thanks to Fiedler's study, leadership styles are no longer dichotomized into good or poor styles. Instead, leadership styles are rated based on the effectiveness under specific situations. This view opened the door to subsequent research that holistically describes leadership behaviors (Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 70)

In spite of the contribution to subsequent research, Fiedler's LPC contingency model is criticized by Ashour (1973), who contends that LPC contingency model is not indeed a theory because it fails to explain how a leader's LPC score affects the group performance. Ashour (1973) further points out some serious conceptual weaknesses of this contingency model. The interpretation of LPC score can be changed in an arbitrary fashion, may not stay stable over time, and may be more complex than assumed (Yukl, 2002).

Path-goal Theory

The path-goal theory of leadership was developed in the 1970s to explain how the leader's behavior influences the satisfaction and performance of subordinates. Based on the expectancy theory of motivation, House (1971) focused on the leader's ability to analyze the task environment and choose behaviors that maximize subordinates' urge and ability to achieve organization goals (Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 70-71). House and Mitchell (1974) later enhanced this theory, and the four types of behaviors they proposed are: (1) supportive leadership; (2) directive leadership; (3) participative leadership; and (4) achievement-oriented leadership (Yukl, 2002, p. 212-213; Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 70-71).

Leadership Substitutes Theory

Kerr and Jermier (1978) developed a model to identify the aspects of the situations that reduce the importance of leadership by managers and other formal leaders. This theory draws a distinction between two types of situational variables: substitutes and neutralizers. Substitutes are the characteristics that make leader behavior unnecessary and redundant. Neutralizers are any characteristics of the task or organization that prevent a leader from acting in a specified way or that nullify the effects of a leader's actions. Nonetheless, this theory has certain conceptual weaknesses. For example, it does not detail the rationale for each substitute and neutralizer in terms of causal process involving explicit intervening variables (Yukl, 2002, p. 219; Razik & Swanson, 2001, p. 70-71)

Transactional and Transformational Leadership

Burns (1978) examines leadership in a political context by studying distinctions among power, leadership, transactional leadership, and transformative leadership. Burns believes that “power over other persons is exercised when potential power wielders, motivated to achieve certain goals of their own, marshal in their power base resources (economic, military, institutional, or skill) that enable them to influence the behavior of respondents by activating motives of respondents relevant to those resources and to those goals” (Burns, 1978, p. 18). The purpose of such power wielders is to achieve goals whether or not the respondents partake in those goals. However, Burns sees leadership as “the reciprocal process of mobilizing, by persons with certain motives and values, various economic, political, and other resources, in a context of competition or conflict, in order to realize goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers” (Burns, 1978, p. 425).

Transactional Leadership

Burns, in his book *Leadership* (1978) (Leadership styles, 2004), put forth the foremost definition of transactional leadership style. Burns (1978) differentiated between transactional and transformative leadership. Burns argues that in transactional leadership, people engage in a relationship for the purpose of exchanging valued things. They are conscious of one another’s power, usually pursue their own purposes and goals, and thus the relationships are transitory. Under transactional leadership theory, an invisible contract between the leader and the follower is drawn up in that the leader initiates contact with subordinates in an effort to exchange something of value, such as performance, mutual support, or bilateral disclosure. Followers are then motivated by the

leader's promise, praise, or rewards, and corrected by negative feedbacks such as reproof, punishment, and disciplinary actions (Burns, 1978; Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999, as cited in Leadership styles, 2004)

Transactional leadership focuses on the business of getting things done. According to Bass (1985), transactional leadership is postulated to result in followers achieving a negotiated level of performance. In this regard, both the leader and the followers agree on what the follower will receive for achieving the negotiated level of performance (as cited in Boehnke, et al. 2004).

Transformational Leadership

The term "transformational leadership" was first coined by Burns (1978) (Panopoulos, 2004, Leadership styles, 2004). Burns (1978) argues that in transformational leadership, "one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (Burns, 1978, p. 20). Burns' theory consists of a hierarchy of human needs, structure of values, and stages of moral development (Burns, 1978, p. 428). The role of the leader is to help followers transcend the levels of need and stages of moral development to achieve mutually held higher purposes (Burns, 1978). Purposes are fused, power bases are linked, and leadership becomes moral as leaders and followers unite to achieve higher goals in transformational relationship.

Burns (1978) further contends that "political leadership, however, can be defined only in terms of purposeful, substantive change in the conditions of people's lives," and "the ultimate test of practical leadership is the realization of intended, real change that meets people's needs" (Burns, 1978, p. 461). For Burns, the test of a leader is the ability

to achieve significant change that represents the mutual interest of followers and leaders. Burns believes that transformative leadership, with its ability to help people pursue higher moral purposes, forms the basis for a general theory of leadership that is applicable in all contexts, not just a political context (Razik & Swanson, 2001).

Bass (1985) undertakes the further development of Burns' original theory, but his conceptualization of leadership differs from Burns' (1978) in three areas. First, Bass includes the idea of expanding subordinates' array of needs and wants in addition to Burns' emphasis on raising subordinates' need level. Second, while Burns considers all transformative leaders to be good, not evil, Bass eliminates the moral implication of transformational leadership that Burns believes to be a requirement. Third, although Burns views transactional and transformative leadership as opposite ends of a continuum, Bass argues that leaders exhibit both types of leadership, depending on the situation (Razik & Swanson, 2001).

Bass (1985) compares transactional and transformational leadership. He asserts that transactional leaders work within the organizational culture, the shared values, and meanings of organizational members, whereas transformational leaders work to change subordinates' values and beliefs in order to change the organizational culture (Bass, 1985, p. 24). Bass also asserts that, "the transactional leader induces performance among followers by negotiating an exchange relationship with them for reward of compliance, and transformational leadership arouses transcendental interests in followers and/or elevates their need and aspiration levels" (Bass, 1985, p. 32).

Bennis and Nanus (1985) argue that transformational leadership is the ability of leaders to shape and elevate followers' motives and goals to achieve significant change

through common interests and collective energies (Bennis & Nanus, 1985, p. 217).

Leaders define a vision that is congruent with followers' key values and construct a social architecture, or an organizational culture, that provides shared meanings. Followers pursue tasks and strive for success. Bennis and Nanus (1985) also explicitly indicate the following requirement of the leader to acquire transformational leadership. Leaders must be able to envision, communicate the vision through symbolic actions and shared meanings, exercise integrity through persistent pursuit of that vision, recognize their own strengths and weaknesses, evaluate ability in relation to job requirements, and focus on positive goals.

Bennis and Nanus (1985) focus their interpretation of transformational leadership on the behavior and skills of the leader. Built upon this concept is empowerment, another key ingredient of transformational leadership. Empowerment is the ability of leaders through active and creative exchanges of power to inspire followers to achieve a vision and realize goals. Leaders empower followers by bringing significance, competence, community, and enjoyment to leader-follower work relationships. Extraordinary efforts are perceived as the means to realizing vision and achieving goals. Razik and Swanson (2001) comment that Bennis and Nanus' (1985) interpretation of transformational leadership is unidirectional, with no reference to the moral implications of the participants' motives and actions whereas a key point of Burns' (1978) definition of transformation refers to the ability of "leaders and followers" to raise each other to higher levels of motivation and morality.

Panopoulos (2004) states that transformational leadership is defined in terms of four inter-related sub-types or factors: (a) individual consideration, (b) idealized

influence, (c) inspirational motivation, and (d) intellectual stimulation. Panopoulos believes that these four sub-types, taken together, represent the most effective attitudes and behaviors present in a leader's repertoire (Panopoulos, 2004; Leadership styles, 2004).

Political Leadership

According to Jones (1989), the study of political leadership access mainly comes from two approaches: biographical approach and systematic approach. The biographical approach looks into the accomplishments of individual leaders and pictures a political world that bends to the will of individual dedicated leaders. The systematic approach looks into the economic, institutional, cultural, and political constraints on the exercise of leadership. In contrast to the biographical approach, the systematic approach tends to depict leaders as the outcomes of social, economic, or political forces or as responding rationally to institutionally structured incentives (Jones, 1989, p. 3). The systematic political science has thus focused on the search for explainable regularities in political life.

Burns (1978) asserts that political leadership can be defined only in terms of purposeful and substantive change in the conditions of people's lives (Razik & Swanson, 2001). Burns (1978, p. 3, 4) proposes three factors that comprise political leadership: (1) a long chain of biological and social processes, (2) interaction with structures of political opportunity and closure, and (3) interplay between the calls of moral principles and the recognized necessities of power.

Baumgartner (1989) states that political leaders operate in situations of either ambiguity or rationality, and the success of political leadership is determined by three

factors: (1) the interaction of their leadership strategies, (2) the cultural symbols that they are able to manipulate, (3) and the institutional and social contexts within which they operate. The ambiguity that is often evident in many situations helps foster the opportunity for political leadership to emerge. Baumgartner (1989, p. 131, 132) describes effective leaders as those who thrive on the ambiguity given the fact that the ambiguity helps create choices and opportunities for the leaders to portray their issues in various ways and in the arena in which the leaders will be most successful.

Politics

Political Identity

Identity is defined as a particular set of characteristics that make a person, group, etc. unique. A nation, a community, a race, a religious congregation, a social or cultural movement is premised on the elements of identity. A set of such elements that defines a member of a group contributes to reproducing other members of the members of the same group. Political identity presupposes a shared identity and shared concerns. This political identity is based on self-identifications: a conscious selection of a given variety of symbols (linguistic, religious, racial, and national). More specifically, these symbols have to be consented upon and shared by the group in order to be viable as a political discourse; individualized identity is not enough. Examples of the symbols are myths, languages, races, and religions that provide the glue to hold and construct the identity (Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development, 2002, p. 26).

“Identity functions to mask complex realities, to inscribe, and at the same time, mystify relationships. It often privileges one marker - perhaps race or religions - and

excludes class, gender, generational and other significant differences because the dynamics of identity is a hegemonic homogenizing force” (Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development, 2002, p. 27).

“Perceiving identity as fixed, bound and unchanging is problematic, and claiming identity in this manner creates insurmountable conflicts between groups” (Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development, 2002, p. 21).

Identity Politics

Identity politics signifies a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice facing marginalized members of certain social groups such as women’s groups, gays and lesbians, aboriginal peoples, immigrants, ethnic groups, and others who feel deprived of self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem. Identity politics typically concerns the liberation of such groups within a larger context instead of organizing solely around ideology or party affiliation. With the goal of greater self-determination, members of that constituency assert ways of understanding their distinctiveness that challenge dominant oppressive characterizations. (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2004).

Many facets of identity politics are detailed in *Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development* (2002, p. 21). First, identity politics refers to the discourses and movements organized around questions regarding religious, ethnic and national identity. Second, identity politics allow for groups to mobilize around what they consider to be common needs. Third, identity politics provides the opportunities for parties who make demands to exploit the common needs. Fourth, identity politics can also be a response to cultural revivalism, or a defense against perceptions of cultural hegemony. Finally,

identity politics can be about national liberation, religious fundamentalism, sexual affirmation, and all those make up some of the most vocal and visible political and social movements in recent history.

However, identity politics goes beyond interest group politics. Part of this is because it is carried out on behalf of those whose "interest group" is unchangeable - or at least a fundamental part of their identity. Women, African-Americans, Hispanics, gays and lesbians, etc. mobilize to force a larger society to take seriously their plight and to argue that the conventional models of the political process are part of the problem rather than the solution. Boyle (2000) observes that whereas the pluralist vision of American politics imagines interest groups shifting, coalescing and reforming - thus avoiding the domination of any particular group - these groups argue that their race, or gender are considerably more fundamental to their identities than an interest in issues like gun control, historic site preservation, or welfare.

One example of identity politics is the partition between India and Pakistan that was employed as a strategy to resolve the problems of conflicting identities. Other examples include the partitions between China and Taiwan, Ireland and UK, North and South Korea, etc. In these instances, a shared geographical area is divided into separate nation-states, communities of people are separated, and thus conflicting identities are resolved. Nonetheless, these approaches do not actually solve existent problems, but in fact, lead to more problems (Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development, 2002, p. 21).

Political Environment and Social Culture in Taiwan

Ethnic Identity in Taiwan

In a broad sense, Taiwanese denotes all inhabitants in Taiwan. In a narrow sense, the academic usage of Taiwanese designates simply the native Taiwanese, whose ancestors immigrated to Taiwan centuries ago until the Japanese occupied in 1895. No exact current census data on the ethnic compositions as of 2004 are available in Taiwan. Huang (1994) surveyed the data gathered during the time between 1650 and 1989 and notes that Taiwan's people consist of Aborigines (1.7%), Native Taiwanese or Holos (73.3%), Mainlanders (13%), and Hakka (12%). In Perrin (2004), *Time Research* based on *CIA World Fact book* reported that Taiwan's 23 million people belong to four distinct ethnic groups: Aborigines (2%, 450,000), Taiwanese (64%, 14.7m), Mainlanders (14%, 3.2m), and Hakka (20%, 4.6m).

Before large-scale immigration by Chinese from the 17th century onwards, Taiwan's history belonged to the Aborigines of ten recognized tribes, dating back some 10,000 years. These are the original inhabitants of Taiwan. Joining these aboriginal tribes, the Taiwanese immigrants, primarily descendants of immigrants from China's Fujian Province in search of a better life, settled the island as early as the 15th century. In 1662, Koxinga, a general of the Ming dynasty of China, fled from the Manchus, seized the island, and established an independent kingdom. Immigration of Holos increased, and the aboriginal population was gradually pushed into the interior. Hakka, which means "guests", is a group of immigrants from China's Guandong Province some 400 years ago. The term Mainlanders designates people from other provinces after the end of World War II.

Taiwan, early history through World War II (2004), provides a clear historical account. In 1885 under the rule of the Ching Dynasty, Taiwan became a Chinese province. A decade later, Japan, attracted by the island's strategic and economic importance, acquired Taiwan by *the Treaty of Shimonoseki* (1895) after the First Sino-Japanese War. At the end of World War II, the Japanese retreated in defeat, ending the half-century occupation of Taiwan. In accordance with the Cairo declaration of 1943 and the Potsdam Conference of 1945, Taiwan was returned to China as a province after the war. Shih (1995) detailed the situation after Taiwan was retroceded to China. Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt and authoritarian Nationalist administration soon alienated the local residents from the mainland. Mainlanders filled out positions at all levels left by the Japanese. The KMT took over all industries and properties built by the Japanese and sold raw material to manufacture goods in Mainland. By 1946, Taiwan suffered the shortage of such foods as rice and sugar, which had thus far been abundant in Taiwan. Political discontent was thus worsened by economic exploitation and deterioration.

Owing to differences in race, language, and national identity, ethnic cleavages in Taiwan have manifested themselves in the form of clan feuds, armed struggle, or even electoral competitions, not only between the Han settlers and the Aborigines but also among the Hans themselves. Ethnic competitions are found mainly along three configurations: Aborigines vs. Hans (Mainlanders + Hakka + Taiwanese), Hakka vs. Taiwanese, and Mainlanders vs. Natives (Aborigines + Hakka + Taiwanese). At present, the most serious ethnic disputes are prevalently found in the extended power struggle between the Natives and the Mainlanders (Shih, 2004).

Tensions between the local Taiwanese and the new arrivals from the Mainland increased in the intervening years. As the historical account retrieved from Wikipedia (2004) presents, a dispute on February 28, 1947 in Taipei between a female cigarette vendor and an anti-smuggling officer triggered a civil disorder, which was put down brutally and with large loss of civilian life by the ROC Army. The impacts of this incidence were far-reaching both for the KMT and the Taiwanese. For the latter, the loss of a whole generation of potential leaders in the aftermath could not be made up until thirty years later. Tensions continued when the Nationalists withdrew to Taiwan after the 1949 defeat by the Chinese communists in the mainland. Communist forces led by Mao Zedong defeated Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. Chiang Kai-shek and about 2 million followers were driven to Taiwan. The term Mainlander designates those followers of Chiang. Chiang set up a government-in-exile and vowed to recover the mainland. In addition, shadowed by his defeat in the mainland, Chiang used martial law to enforce strict cultural policies and stifle any expression of Taiwanese identity, failing to assimilate the local population. To maintain the domination enjoyed by the Mainlanders, the KMT has made all efforts to retain Taiwanese-Mainlander distinction. For instance, the identification card recorded everyone's origin of province. Students were asked to fill in their origin of province in all documents the day they entered school in every stage. As Shih (1995) points out, origin of province was the most important identification criterion, especially in affairs related to the government. Chiang's policies helped sustain an underground pro-democracy movement. For native Taiwanese, jailed dissidents were widely viewed as Taiwanese heroes while the mainlanders who held almost all positions of power were seen as alien occupiers.

After martial law was lifted in 1987, democratic reforms began. People openly debated Chiang's policies. In 1990, Lee Teng-hui, a Taiwan native, was reelected by the national assembly. In 1991, Lee ended emergency rule, and all the members of the national assembly, many of whom were mainland delegates originally elected in 1947, stepped down. In 1996 Lee became the island's first Taiwanese President, and democratic reforms began to take hold. In 1995 and 1996, Beijing conducted missile tests and ultimately military exercises near Taiwan in an effort to inhibit Taiwanese moves toward democracy and independence. The island became divided between the majority of people who trace their ancestry to the early Chinese settlers and the minority whose families arrived in the 1940s (Perrin, 2004). Politicians competing in elections began appealing different groups of people. In 2000 Chen Shui-ben, a native Taiwanese, was elected President and in 2004 Chen was reelected. Yang (2004), a reporter of *China Times*, interviewed experts in diplomacy and military maneuver. They consider Chen's victory as a historic representation of the island-wide deepening Taiwanese consciousness and mounting nationalism, given that Chen's policies will be targeting either keeping the status quo or declaring independence of Taiwan.

Political Identity and Ideology in Taiwan

Taiwan, once a former colony of Japan, was handed over to the Republic of China after World War II. Having been defeated by the Chinese Communist Party in the civil war, the Kuomintang (KMT, Chinese Nationalist Party) under Chiang Kai-shek took refuge in Taiwan in 1949, and had ever since maintained one of the longest bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes in this island. As the specter to "Recover the Mainland" began to fade away, Chiang Ching-kuo, son of Chiang Kai-shek, sought ways for accommodating

his own followers among the hostile natives. He took the first step in 1986 when he allowed for the establishment of the first opposition party, Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). In 1987, the martial law was lifted.

Before his death, Chiang chose Lee Teng-hui as his successor in the hope to countervail native antipathy. What broke the four-decade of the KMT party-state rule was the unexpected succession to the presidency by Lee after Chiang Chin-kuo's sudden demise in 1988. It was the native Lee Teng-hui of the KMT that became the first directly elected President in 1996.

The New Party is a political party split from the then-ruling KMT in the early 1990s because of KMT's temporary shift away from Chinese reunification and because of corruption issues. A much more serious split in the party occurred as a result of the 2000 presidential election. Upset at the official nomination of Lien Chan as the KMT's presidential nominee, former KMT Secretary-General, mainland-born James Soong launched an independent bid for which he and his supporters were expelled and later formed the People's First Party (Taiwan, 2005).

The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) is made up largely of native Taiwanese. In contrast to the KMT position that, although currently divided, Taiwan and the mainland China are both part of "one China," DPP maintains that Taiwan is an independent entity separated from mainland China (Taiwan, 2005).

The dissent native Chen Shui-bian of the DPP won the second presidential election in 2000 largely as a result of the internal feud and split of the KMT. The KMT candidate Lien placed third behind Soong in the election, leading to Lee's resignation as Chairman. In order to prevent defections to the PFP, Lien moved the party away from

Lee's policies of separatism and became more favorable toward Chinese reunification. This shift led to Lee's expulsion from the party and the formation of the Taiwan Solidarity Union.

In social studies, an ideology is an idea that explains how the society should work and offers the basis for a certain group of people who pursue their interests. It can be a construct of political thought which defines political parties and their policy. Every society has an ideology that forms the basis of the "public opinion", a basis that usually remains invisible to the general public within the society. Organizations that strive for power influence the ideology of a society to become what they want it to be. Political organizations (governments included) and other groups (e.g. lobbyists) try to influence people by broadcasting their opinions, which is the reason why so often many people in a society seem to "think alike" (Ideology, 2004). The political status of Taiwan is controversial due to questions whether Taiwan should remain part of the Republic of China, become part of the People's Republic of China, or become an independent Republic of Taiwan. Different groups have different concepts of what the current situation is. In addition, it can be confusing because of the different parties and the effort by many groups to deal with the controversy through a policy of deliberate ambiguity (*Political status of Taiwan*, 2004).

In early 21st century Taiwan, two distinct political identities took shape as a result of conflicting ideologies, visions of the status of Taiwan, and political interests in 2004 presidential election. The Pan-Blue Identity is a political coalition, consisting of the Kuomintang, the People First Party, and the New Party. The name Pan-Blue comes from the party colors of the Kuomintang. This coalition tends to favor a Chinese nationalist

identity over a Taiwanese separatist one and favors a softer policy and greater economic linkage with the People's Republic of China.

The Pan-Green Identity is opposed to the Pan-Blue Identity. The Pan-Green Identity is a political coalition consisting of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU), and the Taiwan Independence Party (TAIP). The name comes from the colors of the Democratic Progressive Party. In contrast to the Pan-Blue Coalition, the Pan-Green Coalition tends to favor Taiwan independence over Chinese reunification, although both coalitions moderate their policies to reach swing voters.

National Identity in Taiwan

Between 1949 and 1991, the official position of the government in Taiwan was that it was the legitimate government of all of China and used this position as justification for authoritarian measures such as the refusal to vacate the seats held by delegates elected on the mainland in 1947.

Other than politics, the demarcation between the Mainlanders and the Natives is based on their dissimilar degrees of attachment to the island (Shih, 1997). The issue of national identity centers on the social split between ethnic Chinese mainlanders, a group who took control of the island in 1949, and the larger segment of native Taiwanese who argue that Taiwan has an identity separate from China. Until recently, most Mainlanders had tended to treat Taiwan as their temporary residence, particularly during the reign of Chiang Kei-shek, who for years persisted in retaking Mainland China. Consequently, the possibility of identifying themselves with the island was impeded by the mentality of being provisional residents. For rich Mainlanders, the prospect of a communist take-over

of Taiwan has prompted them to send their descendants overseas. On the contrary, most native Taiwanese regard the island as their homeland (Shih, 1997).

Forney (2004) points out that after imposing 38 years of martial law and brutally repressing political activists who later became the core of the now-ruling DPP, the KMT introduced democratic reforms in the 1990s. But the native Taiwanese used their new freedoms to demand *bentuhua*, which translates as "localization." *Bentuhua* is a political term used within Taiwan to support the view of Taiwan as a centered place rather than as solely an appendage of China. *Bentuhua* means politicians bear Taiwanese lineage, speak the Taiwanese dialect, emphasize Taiwan's history at schools and promote Taiwanese culture. For many, *bentuhua* also means independence, or at least permanent separation from China. While the Mainlanders/Pan-blue supporters would consider themselves Chinese and Taiwanese as well, the Natives/Pan-green supporter would deem themselves Taiwanese first and then Chinese. Of course, there are also quite a few who consider themselves as Taiwanese only, and few who take themselves as Chinese only (Shih, 2003). As Shih (2003) maintains, national identity in Taiwan has been intertwined with ethnic identity and party identification. As ethnic groups fail to reach consensus over formula for resource-distribution and political parties quarrel among themselves over rules of game for power-sharing, national identity is apt to be mobilized as pawn of political competition. Ambiguous national identity has so far developed along ethnic/party cleavages.

Pan (2003) studied data collected between 1994 and 2002 in an attempt at understanding different factors influencing the attitude of Taiwan's people toward independence or reunification with China. Figure 2 presents factors in Pan's study.

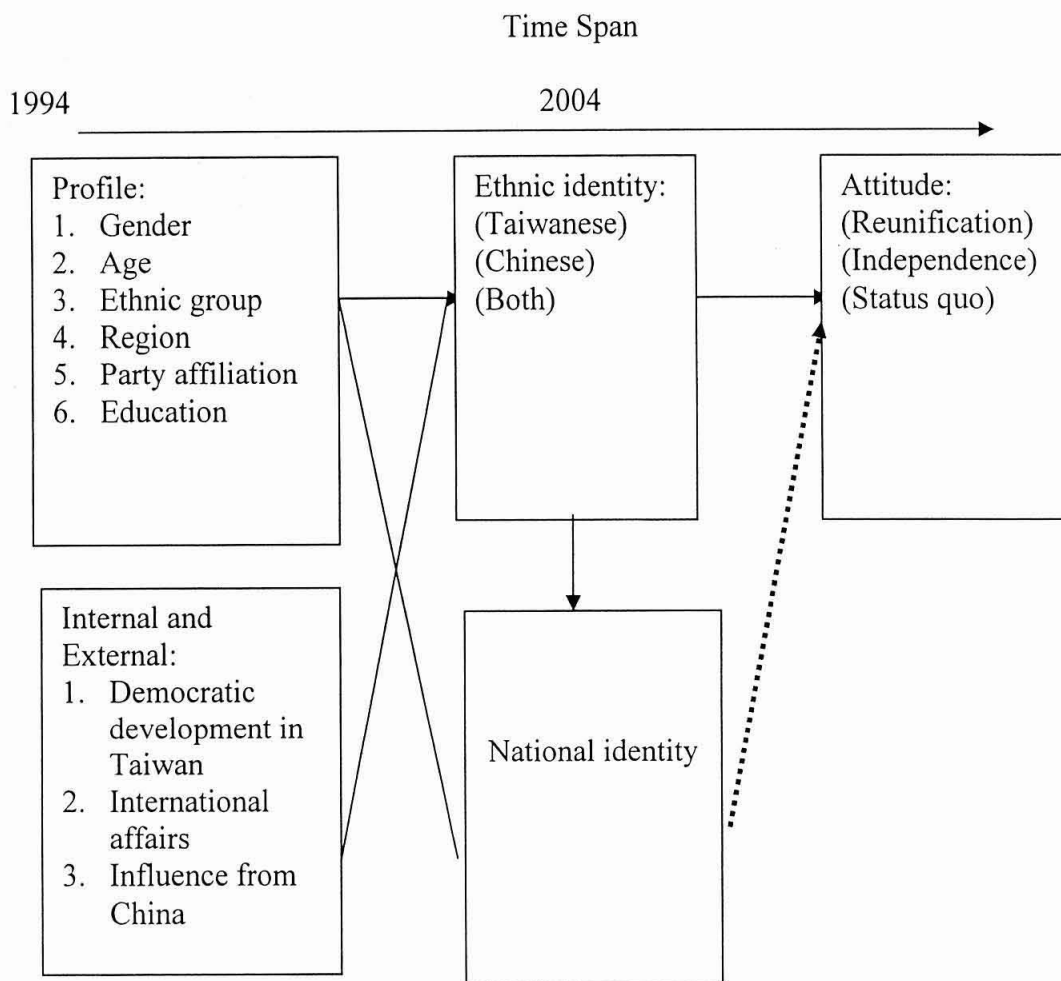


Figure 2. Factors in Pan's Study (Pan 2003, p. 16)

The following are main points from Pan's conclusions:

- 1) An average 37.3% of the people consider themselves Taiwanese, with the maximum 50.0% in 2000 and minimum 29.1% in 1995.
- 2) An average 14.8% of people consider themselves Chinese, with the maximum 25.1% in 1994 and minimum 29.1% in 1995.
- 3) An average 45.2% of people consider themselves both Taiwanese and Chinese, with the maximum 50.7% in 2001 and minimum 39.0% in 2000.

- 4) There is a gradual increase in "pro-independence" from people who consider themselves Taiwanese.
- 5) A gradual increase is observed in "pro-reunification" from people who consider themselves Chinese.
- 6) A higher proportion of southern Taiwan residents support independence while higher proportions of northern Taiwan residents support reunification with China.

In 2002, President Chen defined the status quo as "one country on each side of the Taiwan Strait", sparking criticism from China and domestic opponents who sought reunification with China. In late 2003 Taiwan passed a law permitting the holding of referendums. The move was stridently criticized by China, which believed the law would be used to obtain a vote for independence. According to Marquand (2004), the main dynamic in the 2004 presidential election centers on the question of identity and what is known as the "status quo," or the principles governing Taiwan's approach to China, which claims Taiwan part of its territory. The identity issue has polarized the electorate. The incumbent seeks to assert Taiwanese identity. The opposition wants to maintain the status quo. In addition, regional differences exist in the identity issue. Rural southern Taiwan is populated largely by native Taiwanese while the mainland Nationalists are concentrated in the urban, industrial north, particularly the capital, Taipei. Southerners are bitter about having been marginalized, and resent what they regard as the hijacking of their island by the mainlanders (Perrin, 2004).

Forney (2004) describes Yunlin County as an example of how the identity issue had an impact in the election. Yunlin, one of Taiwan's poorest counties, which had never

failed to vote KMT, had turned against the party in the 2004 presidential election. The defectors of Yunlin helped Chen to his paper-thin victory margin. Typical of rural Taiwan, the county is populated almost entirely by native-Taiwanese farmers, whose ancestors moved to the island from mainland China centuries before Chiang Kai-shek retreated with his following KMT 55 years ago. For decades they supported the KMT, then Taiwan's only party, which controlled loans to farmers to win loyalty. Now things are changing. Locals worry that the KMT's desire for closer ties with the mainland will lead to floods of cheap imported produce and lower incomes and, more fundamentally, that the KMT will eventually reunify with a country they consider alien. The next section provides a brief account of the 2004 presidential election results.

Politics in Taiwan

It is an interesting phenomenon that politics is intertwined with everyday conversation among people in Taiwan, a small island that enjoys a relatively young democracy. Educational settings are also under the influence of conflicting political stands. As Cheng (2004) reported, the confrontational tensions are observed on elementary school campuses. According to Professor Chang from National Taiwan University, students reacted differently to news reports covering the attempted assassination of President Chen. Some students shed tears while others applauded. A news story in China Times, March 26, 2004, reported that heated debate took place among college students and faculty. Some elementary school teachers had students watch TV news during lunchtime and those young students were asked to debate on pan-blue or pan-green issues in class. A parent told the newspaper reporter that a pan-blue

elementary teacher tried to brainwash her fifth-grade child. Another parent complained about teachers bringing their own political stands into their classrooms (Chen, 2004).

Commentators view the 2004 presidential election as an unprecedented challenge for the island's young democracy like no event before: first, with an attempted political assassination, then with a wafer-thin margin of victory, and now with protesters on the streets of Taipei pressing their campaign against what they see as the illegitimate presidency of Chen Shui-bian. President Chen Shui-ban squeaked in with only 50.1% of the vote - a margin of just 29,518 out of some 12.9 million votes tallied and secured a second term by 6,47 million votes to 6,44 million for opponent Lien Chan (Chen re-elected, 2004).

Taiwan's political crisis began in March, 2004 when opposition candidate Lien Chan refused to accept the election results and thousands of people began camping outside the Presidential Office. Chartered buses from cities other than Taipei began rumbling into the Taiwan's capital. Thousands of protesters converged after the election and called for a recount of the March 20 vote. They also were demanding an independent investigation into the unexplained shooting that wounded President Chen just hours before he narrowly won the election (*Massive rally in Taiwan's capital raises fears of new violence*, 2004). Even if the election result stands, the shared outrage of Chen's opponents could keep them together in opposition - rather than disintegrating in defeat. Chen's hairbreadth victory seems likely to deepen political and ethnic tensions among people in Taiwan.

Taiwan Independence

Historically, the relationship between Taiwan and China developed later than that between Tibet, Korea, or Vietnam and China, probably because of the natural separation (Shih, 1997). Although both Nationalist and Communist Chinese claim that Taiwan has been a part of China historically, it was indeed the Dutchmen who first came to southern Taiwan and laid claim to the island in 1624. Koxinga (or Cheng Ch'eng-kung), Ming loyalist, expelled the Dutchmen in 1662 and occupied Taiwan as a military base to fight against the Manchus, who overthrew the Ming Dynasty and established the Ching Dynasty.

Koxinga's grandson surrendered to the Manchus in 1683. Then the Ching emperor once stated that Taiwan had never been the territory of China and was not putting much effort in the governing Taiwan. The Ching emperor simply contempted those islanders as "Hua-wai-chih-min", which means "people beyond civilization" (Shih, 1997). The Ching government made every effort to prohibit migration to Taiwan in vain, as population pressure grew seriously in nearby Fujian and Guandong. It is notable that Taiwan did not become a Chinese province until 1684. It was actually during the 200 years of Manchu rule (1684-1895) that migration to Taiwan increased drastically. These ancestors of contemporary Taiwanese ran the risk of death penalty by violating prohibition and endured hardship sailing in the Taiwan Strait (Lee, 1997; Shih, 1997).

In 1894, after the First Sino-Japanese War, the Ching government ceded Taiwan to Japan although the reason for starting the war was the sovereignty issue of Korea. A Republic of Taiwan was established in 1895. However, the republic collapsed with its leaders fleeing to mainland China. Scattered armed resistance lasted for twenty years as

a result of discrimination against Taiwan's people (Lee, 1997). Political and cultural organizations were organized by Taiwanese students in Japan to promote the idea of democracy and to preserve Taiwanese culture (Lee 1997; Shih 1997). The major contribution was the further consolidation of a new national identity consciousness in addition to the introduction of modern democratic ideals (Shih, 1997).

After Taiwan was returned to China in 1945, the Taiwanese did not ask for self-determination but favorably welcomed the arrival of their Chinese brethren. However, in less than two years, the Taiwanese revolted against those who they greeted not long ago. Corruption, political discrimination, cultural differences, psychological factors, economic recession and unemployment all had a part in contributing to the explosion of Taiwanese resentment (Lee, 1997; Shih, 1997).

Political discrimination was the fundamental ground for Taiwanese indignation. During the Japanese rule, Taiwanese were never allowed to take any important position in all fields. When the Japanese left, the natives expected they would be elevated to the vacancies left over by the colonists. To their disappointment, the new arriving Mainlanders filled out these offices, and they also appointed their own relatives in offices, regardless of their competence. Cultural differences also played an important role in the development of mutual distrust. During the fifty years of Japanese colonization, the Taiwanese gained certain Japanese cultural characteristics ranging from custom, housing, food, clothing, to language. The Taiwanese could not help but to compare the Mainlanders with the Japanese. The general feeling was that they preferred being treated as third-class citizens by the colonist Japan to as the second-class citizens by their own brothers (Shih 1997).

Economic extraction was another major factor underlying the island-wide rebellion. When the Nationalists took over, rice and sugar were shipped to China. For the first time Taiwan faced a food shortage. Furthermore, the industrial plants established by the Japanese were not restored after the war. Instead, the Mainlanders not only sold out raw materials, but also sold out equipment to China. Dissatisfaction of unemployed laborers added one dimension to the resentment (Shih, 1997). The psychological disillusion was thus another factor underlying the Feb. 28 Incidence. The ensuing retaliatory massacre aggravated the alienation between Mainlanders and Taiwanese and helped to strengthen the Taiwanese consciousness.

The stress across the Taiwan Strait has always been tense. China blocks Taiwan's entry into almost every international organization, and isolates the island diplomatically, all the while threatening it with military action (Lee, 1997; Perrin, 2004). In Taiwan today, fewer and fewer people see themselves as Chinese. For many on the island, the final straw was the SARS crisis early last year, when China blocked World Health Organization (WHO) officials from touching down in Taiwan. Lee (2002) quotes a scholar who comments, "Taiwan was originally a land of immigration. After so many years of struggle, finally here came recognition of the need to build national identity. With national identity built, Taiwan's people will be truly in charge of their fate and this island."

Geographical Regions in Taiwan

Taiwan is composed of 79 islands and islets, and its nearly 23 millions of population live in a total area of 35,960 square kilometers, which are unofficially divided into four geographical regions – the north region, the central region, the east region, and

the south region (Taiwan Geology, 2005). The lofty Central Mountain Range, just less than 4000 meters at its highest, dominates Taiwan, and 52% of the island is covered by forest. As the Central Mountain Range divides Taiwan into west plain and east mountain cliffs, heavily populated urban areas are located along the west coast and have grown outside the official limits of major cities, forming large metropolitan areas, which are now home to 68.75 percent of Taiwan's total population (Around Taiwan, 2005).

Income per Income Recipient Breakdown by Region

As indicated in the *Percentage Share of Primary Income and Number of Income Recipients of Taiwan Area by Place of Work in 2003*, published by the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan of Taiwan, the income per income recipient breakdown by the four region is illustrated as follows:

Table 2-1

Income per Income Recipient Breakdown by Region in Taiwan

Region	City/County Name	Primary Income (NT\$100 Million)	Number of Income Recipients (Person)	Income per Income Recipient (NT\$)	Income per Income Recipient (US\$) (US\$1.00 = NT\$32.00)
North	Taipei City	9,781	1,454,920		
	Taipei County	10,094	2,075,827		
	Keelung City	873	208,969		
	Taoyuan County	4,757	952,131		
	Hsinchu City	1,192	206,246		
	Hsinchu County	1,083	245,846		
	Miaoli County	1,020	277,612		
	Total	28,800	5,421,551	531,213	16,600
South	Chiayi City	562	126,323		
	Chiayi County	783	245,500		
	Tainan City	1,751	382,855		
	Kaohsiung City	4,205	830,899		
	Kaohsiung County	2,325	622,699		
	Pingtung County	1,724	379,348		
	Penghu County	140	36,663		
	Total	11,490	2,624,287	437,833	13,682

Table 2-1 (continued)

Income per Income Recipient Breakdown by Region in Taiwan

Region	City/County Name	Primary Income (NT\$100 Million)	Number of Income Recipients (Person)	Income per Income Recipient (NT\$)	Income per Income Recipient (US\$) (US\$1.00 = NT\$32.00)
East	Yilan County	860	222,479		
	Taitung County	377	104,276		
	Hualien County	663	162,120		
	Total	1,900	488,875	388,647	12,145
Central	Taichung City	2,855	521,541		
	Taichung County	2,926	689,294		
	Changhua County	2,348	583,533		
	Nantou County	898	250,844		
	Yunlin County	1,153	323,416		
	Total	7,832	2,368,628	330,656	10,333

Table 2-1 illustrates the totals of primary income, total number of income recipients, and the average income per income recipient breakdown by the four geographical regions in Taiwan. In the aspect of average income of all income recipients, the north region ranks on the top, followed by the south region, and then the east region while the central region trails behind. In the distribution, one fact worthy of note is that while the primary income in the central region is far above than that in the east region – 7,832 million dollars versus 1,900 million dollars, the central region almost five times of income recipients than the east region does – 2,368,628 versus 488,875.

Economic Sectors

Table 2-2

Economic Sectors Breakdown by Region in Taiwan

Region	Category
North	Semiconductor Manufacturing, Wafer Fabrication, Personal Computer Manufacturing, Banking and Financing, Automobile Fabrication, General Manufacturing, Gold/Coal Mining, Fishery
Central	Food Processing, Farming, General Manufacturing, Fishery, Forestry

Table 2-2 (continued)

Economic Sectors Breakdown by Region in Taiwan

Region	Category
East	Tourism, Mineral Mining, Fishery, Quarrying, Food Processing
South	Agriculture, Farming, Metal Refining, Oil Refining, Vessel Fabrication, Fishery, Food Processing, General Manufacturing, Forestry

Since Taiwan is a small island surrounded by oceans, fishery is common in all four regions. Other than fishery, one notable difference lies in that labor-intensive industry is located mainly in the south while high-tech industry and financial banking are located mainly in the north. Table 2-2 further depicts the economic diversity among four regions in Taiwan (Industrial Composition in Taiwan, 2005).

Trade Relationship with China

Published in the monthly statistics, *Exports and Imports Value by Countries*, by the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan of Taiwan, the trading (both imports and exports) with China has grown from US\$4,541 million dollars in 1997 to US\$50,697 million dollars in 2004. Since 2004, China has exceeded the United States (US\$49,754 million dollars in 2004) and become Taiwan's largest trading country. The dramatic increase in trading, along with closer ties with China, worries residents in rural Taiwan. Rural Taiwan consists mainly of farming counties in the central and southern regions. The residents of these rural areas worry that closer ties with China will lead to floods of cheap imported produce, and consequently, lower labor and household incomes.

Nonetheless, in the Internet no further trading statistics breakdown by the aforementioned four regions is provided by the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan of Taiwan.

Cognitive Dissonance

Cognitive Dissonance Theory

Psychologist Leon Festinger (1992) studied groups that had claimed to be able to predict the end of the world. Festinger found that most members became stronger than ever when the prophecy failed. Festinger's investigation revealed that members had to find a way to cope psychologically with the failure. They needed to maintain order and meaning in their life, and they needed to think that they were acting according to their self-image and values. Festinger describes this contradiction which the members of groups he studied had to overcome as what has become known as the "Cognitive Dissonance Theory" (Totalism, 2004).

Cognitive Dissonance Theory is concerned with the relationships among cognitions. A cognition, for the purpose of this theory, may be thought of as a piece of knowledge, and the knowledge may be something about an attitude, an emotion, a behavior, or a value, etc. People may hold a multitude of cognitions simultaneously, and these cognitions form relevant, consonant, or dissonant relationships with one another (Cognitive Dissonance Lab, 2004).

Leon Festinger (1992) summarizes the following basic principle. "If you change a person's behavior, his thoughts and feelings will change to minimize the dissonance." Whenever there is a conflict between thoughts, feelings, or behavior, those in conflict will adapt themselves to minimize the contradiction. This is because a person can only tolerate a certain amount of discrepancy between these components which make up his identity. In cults, this dissonance is created to exploit and control the members (Totalism, 2004).

The three components of Cognitive Dissonance Theory proposed by Leon Festinger (1992) are: Control of Behavior, Control of Thoughts, and Control of Emotions. Each component has a powerful effect on the other two - change one and the others will tend to follow. When all these three change, the individual will undergo a complete change (Totalism, 2004).

Behavior Control

The control of an individual's physical reality. This can include control over one's diet, clothing, residence, sleep, job, rituals, etc. This is why each cult has its own distinctive set of behaviors that bind it together and most cults have stringent schedules for members. This control is so powerful that the cult member will actually participate in their own punishment and come to believe that he or she deserves such punishment! No one can command a person's thoughts, but if you can control behavior, hearts and minds will follow (Totalism, 2004).

Thought Control

The control of an individual's thought processes. The indoctrination of members is so thorough that they will manipulate their own thought processes. The ideology is internalized as "the truth". Incoming information is filtered through the beliefs which also regulates how this information is thought about. The cult has its own language which further regulates how a person thinks. This puts a great barrier between cult members and outsiders.

Another form of control is "thought stopping" techniques. This can take many forms: chanting, meditating, singing, humming, concentrated praying, tongues, etc. The

use of these techniques short circuits the cult member's ability to test reality. The person can only think positively about the group. If there is a problem, the member assumes responsibility and works harder (Totalism, 2004).

Emotional Control

The control over the individual's emotional life. This manipulates a person's range of feelings. Guilt and fear are employed to maintain control. Cult members cannot see the control by guilt and, like other abused victims, are conditioned to blame themselves when things go wrong, even grateful when a leader explicitly points out their transgressions. Fear is utilized to manipulate for two purposes. The first is to create an outside enemy who is persecuting you, a "we-vs-them" situation. The second is the fear of punishment by the leaders if you are not "good enough." Being "good enough" is following the ideology perfectly. The most powerful emotional control is phobia indoctrination. This can give the person a panic reaction at the very thought of leaving the group. It is almost impossible for cult members to conceive that there is any life outside the group. There is no physical gun held to their heads but rather the psychological gun (Totalism, 2004).

Information Control

Steven Hassan (1990), author of *Combating Cult Mind Control*, adds a fourth component to Festinger's Cognitive Dissonance Theory - "Control of Information." Steven Hassan (1990) argues that by control over individuals' information sources, individuals' ability to think for themselves is restricted and ultimately, what they are able to think about is limited. Once people are deprived of the information needed to make a

sound judgment, a sound judgement is not likely to be attained. The main reason for trapping in cults is the access denial for the critical information cult members need to assess their situation. The psychological chains on their minds are just as powerful as if they were isolated physically from society. So strong is this psychological process that they also lack proper functioning internal mechanisms to process any critical information placed right in front of them (Totalism, 2004).

According to Atherton (2003), cognitive dissonance is a psychological phenomenon, which refers to the discomfort felt at a discrepancy between new information or interpretation and what is already known or believed. Cognitive dissonance occurs when there is a need to accommodate new ideas, and it may be necessary for it to develop so that one becomes "open". In Atherton's view, cognitive dissonance consists of two major effects on learning:

- 1) If people are called upon to learn something that contradicts what they already think they know - particularly if they are committed to that prior knowledge - they are likely to resist the new learning. Accommodation is more difficult than assimilation, in Piaget's terms.
- 2) If learning something has been difficult, uncomfortable, or even humiliating enough, people are not likely to admit that the content of what has been learned is not valuable. To do so would be to admit that one has been "had", or "conned" (Atherton, 2003).

Measurements of Transformational Leadership

Many different instruments can be used as a measure of leadership effectiveness. The majority of instruments designed to evaluate the leadership performance are

surrounding the 4I's components of transformational leadership, or based on the outcome (performance) of followers. The examples are the motivation, inspiration and empowerment followers received from their leader, and how these contribute to the performance or the quality of followers toward attaining organizational goals.

Leadership Behavior Descriptive Questionnaire (LBDQ-X11)

The short form of the *Leadership Behavior Descriptive Questionnaire* (LBDQ-X11) was developed by Stogdill (1957) from the Ohio State University Leadership Studies (Bass & Stogdill, 1990). This instrument allows followers to describe how often their leaders engage in certain behavior based on their observation, and has been widely used in various settings. This instrument can generate a reliability of .90 for the consideration dimension and .78 for the initiating structure (Leadership Measurement, 2004).

Leadership Practices Inventory-Self (LPI-S) and Leadership Practices Inventory-Other (LPI-O)

Leadership Practices Inventory-Self (LPI-S) and Leadership Practices Inventory-Other (LPI-O) was developed by Kouzes and Posner and consists of 30 behaviorally based statements. The overall reliability for the instrument is very high ($\alpha = .97$) (as cited in Leadership Measurement, 2004).

Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ)

The *Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire* (MLQ) was developed by Bass (1985) based on his transformational theory. With the 3I's (individual consideration, idealized influence, and intellectual stimulation) in the transformational theory, Bass' MLQ was

designed mainly to measure the various behaviors in transactional and transformational leaderships. Nonetheless, since the questionnaires in the original MLQ were devoted to describing the individual traits and intellectual stimulation, the use of MLQ was very limited. Bass and Avolio (1990) then added the fourth I (inspirational motivation) to the transformational leadership theory and modified MLQ by adding the inspirational motivation item to the questionnaires. MLQ then became the benchmark measure of transformational leadership. It can be used to measure a broad range of leadership types from passive leaders to leaders who give contingent rewards to followers, or to leaders who transform their followers into becoming leaders themselves. The MLQ can be further used to identify the characteristics of a transformational leader and helps individuals discover how they measure up in their own eyes and in the eyes of those with whom they work (Bass & Avolio, 1990; Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire, 2004).

Other Measurement Instruments

In addition, there are other instruments to establish reliability and validity, including Likert's (1972) *Profile of a School Survey Staff Questionnaire* (POS) (reliability .70 to .90), Principal Instructional Management Rating Scale (PIMRS) developed by Hallinger and Murphy (1985) and mainly used to measure the instructional leadership of the principal, *Profile for Assessment of Leadership* (PAL) developed by the Leadership Assessment Development Committee (1984) (as cited in Leadership Questionnaire, 2004).

Meta-analysis

Meta-analysis is a statistical analytical approach that is utilized for the purpose of synthesizing quantitative data to determine the degree of effect of the independent variables on the dependent variable. It uses statistical results from individual quantitative studies as the units of measurement in an overall study, and these results are then summarized by the indexes of effect size or standardized mean difference that may then be averaged to obtain an overall estimate of effect magnitude (Leadership Measurement, 2004).

Meta-analysis is also a set of statistical procedures designed to accumulate experimental results and correlations across independent studies that address a related set of research questions. It can be used to present the formulas and the procedures needed for converting study statistics to a common metric, calculating the sample weighted mean \bar{r} and \bar{d} , and correcting for range restriction and sampling and/or measurement error (Larry, 2004).

The strength of the meta-analysis derives from the fact that the indexes of effect magnitude are scale-free. That means the use of the scale-free index makes meta-analysis capable of combining the results of studies that measure the same construct particularly for the social sciences (Leadership Measurement, 2004).

Outcome Measurability

Outcome measurability uses outcome's susceptibility to validate the measurement of transformational performance. Compared with programmability, outcome measurability focuses on the characteristics of the output of a task. If the outcome of a task is unobservable or unreliable to measure, the task is considered of low measurability.

Otherwise, the measurability is high. Job nature, such as consultation work, has a low measurability in its output, because it is very difficult for managers to get sufficient information on what exact contributions each member in the consultation team has made into the outcome. In contrast, the task in marketing team has very high outcome measurability because sales figures are easy to compare and measure (Leadership Styles, 2004).

Agency Theory

Agency theory (Jensen, et al, 1976) is involved in the measurement of transformational leadership performance. Agency theory means one party (termed the “principal” or “leader”) seeks to achieve some outcome but requires the assistance of another party (termed the “teacher,” “agent” or “follower”) to carry out a necessary activity (Scott, 1998). Outcome measurability is associated closely with the agency theory. According to agency theory (Eisenhardt, 1989; Stroh, et al, 1996), behavior control is the first best solution, and the outcome control is the optimal choice when there is not enough information on agent’s behavior. However, if the outcome itself becomes difficult to measure with reliability, then managers have to adopt other control and motivation methods, such as authority and social control (Leadership Styles, 2004).

Measurements of Abstract

Exploring the influence on the transformational leadership implicated by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identity is a challenge. Measuring the influence is also a challenge further complicated by not only the lack of empirical and theoretical research and study,

but also the intangible nature that is readily observable and not clearly linked to the measurable outcomes.

Hartsfield (2004) studied the spirit of transformational leadership that fosters leader's behavior on the four components of transformational leadership: (1) charisma or idealized influence, (2) inspirational motivation, (3) intellectual stimulation, and (4) individual considerations. In his empirical study carried out in a major U.S. corporation, Hartsfield (2004) measured the strength of the relationship of spirituality, emotional intelligence, and self-efficacy to the transformational leadership. *Spiritual Well-Being Scale* (SWBS), *Emotional Intelligence Scale* (EI Scale), and *New General Self-Efficacy Scale* (NGSE) were applied in measuring spirituality, emotional intelligence, and self-efficacy, respectively (Hartsfield, 2004).

Summary and Interpretations

The purpose of this literature review is to examine the influence on the transformational leadership affected by confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities in today's society in Taiwan. The review of theoretical and empirical literature in this summary is conducted according to the selected and the pertinent themes presented in the literature map. This review begins with the examination of leadership definition, and the theoretical constructs and empirical literature of leadership theories and styles are reviewed next. Taiwan ethnic and national identities, and the politics and political environment in Taiwan are also closely inspected. The socio-political culture and climate in Taiwan are reviewed in the context of political identity and Taiwan independency movement.

However, there is little finding on scholarly inquiries that essentially discuss the correlation between the transformational leadership performance and any confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities. In addition, research studies on the influence to the transformational leadership performance implicated by confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities were found.

Transformational leadership is a concept of leadership theory originally developed by Burns, Bass, and other scholars in the 1960s. Since then, this theory has maintained that transformational leadership is influential in motivating and transforming followers to be more aware of task outcomes, and activating followers' highest cause, even transcend their own self-interest for the benefit of the organization. Because of the transformational influence, followers are motivated to do more than they originally would and feel a greater degree of respect and trust for the leader. The backbone of this theory is that, by transformational leadership rather than transactional leadership, followers are more motivated to enhance their performance.

For the leaders to achieve the goals of building commitment, empowering and elevating followers to the greatest degree possible, researchers (Burns, 1978; Bass 1985; Bass & Steidlmeier, 1998; Howell & Avolio 1992) have mainly focused on attempts to elevate, broaden, or bring in induced changes in the followers' beliefs and values, but all were on the assumptions that followers would not have problems or repercussion about altering their beliefs and values systems if shared values can be forged mutually.

However, in these previous studies, little discussion has been given on the degree of willingness or unwillingness of giving up ones' own cognized beliefs and values

systems from the followers' perspective. Furthermore, there was not enough evidence to support that followers would be willing to alter or discard their own cognized beliefs and values systems unconditionally even if shared values or vision can be forged. This point of argument contributes to the motivation of conducting this literature review to unveil any hidden implications to the principals' transformational leadership performance when leaders and their followers are possessing confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities.

Theoretical Literature

Transactional and Transformational Leadership

Over past decades, transformational leadership has become increasingly more popular than transactional leadership. Transformational leadership was originally proposed by Burns (1978) and Bass (1985) among other scholars. Bass' (1985) theory is an extension of Burns' (1978) qualitative classification of transactional versus transformational political leaders. Whereas transactional leadership is described as a series of exchange and bargains between leaders and followers, transformational leadership goes beyond exchanging inducements for desired performance by developing, intellectually stimulating, and inspiring the followers to transcend their own self-interest for a higher collective purpose (Boehnke, et al. 2004).

It has been pointed out that followers can embrace or reject the ethical values embedded in the leaders' vision, articulation, and program (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1998). Nonetheless, Bass and Steidlmeier did not clearly elaborate on situations in which followers in reality might not have been given a voice on their preferences to be able to

reject leaders' (or organizational) vision, nor did Bass and Steidlmeier elaborate on options or alternatives available from both leader's and followers' perspectives under such circumstances. Further, few discussions were given on the ethical dilemma or conflicting ideologies when leaders' and followers' ethical values or ideologies are in conflict but both maintain justifiable on social cognition.

Bass (1985) argues that transformational leaders work to change subordinates' values and beliefs in order to change the organizational culture, but Bass did not clarify why changing organizational culture must take place in a bottom-up approach (changing subordinates' values first) instead of a top-down approach (changing senior leaders' values first, middle leaders' values second, and then followers). In contrast, Tan (2000) argues that culture change should begin with mindset change from the top management and then cascaded down to the lower level staff (Tan, 2000).

Unger (2002) urges that educational leaders need to possess the "cultural competence," an intercultural skill, and a broad cultural knowledge to promote the equality and the justice among culturally diverse groups. Further, the challenge of multicultural education is to find a common ground between parents, students, teachers, and the school as a cultural institution that is based on the respect and understanding for the fundamental differences in cultural values (Unger, 2000). However, these arguments fail to discuss the situations in which such a common ground may not exist among conflicting cultures.

Rushworth Kidder (1995) studied cognitive dissonance as it relates to learning. However, his research study should be extended beyond learning. What is worth observing is the learners' dilemmas when they are reluctant to give away their own

cognized beliefs and values systems, and specifically, the dilemmas result from the contracting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities between themselves and their leaders.

Though cognitive dissonance is mainly studied in the learning field, its pilot study was on the observation of cult members who actually committed themselves to giving up their homes and jobs and working for the cult, which believed that the earth was going to be destroyed by a flood. Likewise, cognitive dissonance could be applied in the transformational leadership paradigm when followers are urged to discard or alter their own ethical values and cognized beliefs and, instead, adopt someone else's (leader's or organization's) that might be socially or politically justifiable but ethically contradicts their cognized own.

Bass (1985) articulates that the transformational leadership arouses transcendental interests in followers and elevates their need and aspiration levels (Razik & Swanson 2001). Bennis and Nanus (1985) explain that "transformative" leadership is the ability of leaders to shape and elevate followers' motives and goals to achieve significant change through common interests and collective energies (Razik & Swanson 2001). Nonetheless, no elaborations on or references to the possible cognitive dissonance, repercussion, or resistance from the followers' perspective were given.

By extending the application of cognitive dissonance theory, it can be seen that one trick in manipulation or immobilizing a person (or a group) is to get a person to argue internally within himself or herself. Eventually this person's emotional, intellectual, and behavioral components are going to change to relieve the dissonance or internal conflict. If this can be done, particularly if people are immobilized from taking direct action to

change the arguments or actions imposed upon them, they then will wear down themselves or change/distort themselves internally to relieve the internal dissonance and turbulence. This is particularly true if the mass media feeds internal argument and conflict. The virtual reality of TV injects a vicarious or virtual self within a person to create dissonance. This will produce one of two consequences, or maybe a combination of both. There will be either internal change/realignment, or immobilized personal involution/withdrawal. It's part of the new politics (Kocher, 2004). Nonetheless, a question that needs to be answered is how the cognitive dissonance impacts the transformational leadership performance when a follower is urged to retreat from his or her own political stances, ideology, national identity, or ethnic identity.

Transformational leadership is characterized by four factors, the so-called four 'Is':

- 1) Idealized influence (Charisma): Leaders provide vision and sense of mission, instill pride, and gain respects from their followers (Stephen, 2004). Highly trusted and respected, followers want to identify with and emulate the leader. The flavor of this factor is best expressed in the corresponding sample item: 'Has my trust in his or her ability to overcome any obstacle' (Bass & Avolio, 1990 as cited in Lakomski, 2004).
- 2) Inspirational motivation: Leaders communicate with their followers about high expectations, use symbols to focus on the efforts, and express important purposes in simple ways (Stephen, 2004). This factor comes close to the first depending on the degree of follower identification. The leader uses symbols and appeals to followers' emotions to reinforce awareness and understanding in

the pursuit of shared goals. Sample item: 'Uses symbols and images to focus our efforts' (Bass & Avolio, 1990 as cited in Lakomski, 2004).

- 3) Intellectual stimulation: Leaders promote intelligence, rationality, and artful problem solving (Stephen, 2004). Followers are encouraged to question their old ways of doing things, their values and beliefs, including those of the leader and the organization and to think of new ways to meet challenges. Sample item: 'Enables me to think about old problems in new ways' (Bass & Avolio, 1990 as cited in Lakomski, 2004).
- 4) Individualized consideration: Leaders give their personal attention to followers, treat each follower individually, coach and advise followers with care (Stephen, 2004). Followers are treated according to their needs which may be raised to a higher level. They are helped to meet challenges and to become more effective in attaining goals. Learning opportunities are provided. Sample item: 'Coaches me if I need it' (Bass & Avolio, 1990 as cited in Lakomski, 2004).

In contrast, transactional leadership is mainly defined by the following two factors:

- 1) Contingent reward: Leaders contract exchange of rewards for effort, promise rewards for performance, and recognize followers' accomplishments (Stephen, 2004). The leader rewards followers for attaining common goals and objectives. The interaction between leader and followers is one of positive reinforcement, based on an exchange of desired items. Sample item: 'Makes

sure there is close agreement between what he or she expects me to do and what I can get from him or her for my effort' (as cited in Lakomski, 2004).

- 2) Management-by-exception (active): Leaders watch and search for deviations from rules and standards, and take corrective action against deviations (Stephen, 2004). The leader intervenes when mistakes are made or problems occur which need correcting. The intervention is characterized by negative feedback, punishment or disciplinary action. Sample item: 'Takes action only when a mistake has occurred' (as cited in Lakomski, 2004).

Empirical Literature

Leadership and Performance

Many prior empirical research studies and meta-analyses have indicated that diverse leadership styles have differential effects on individual performance. Over 35 studies have reported positive relationships between transformational leadership and follower performance (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1996). On balance, the majority of research examining the relationship and individual performance have been positive (Hunt & Schuler, 1976), although negative relationships have also been reported (Howell & Avolio, 1993). Finally, a third category of leadership behavior, labeled *laissez-faire* (or avoidance) leadership has shown mixed results ranging from positive (Greene, 1976), to negative (Bass & Avolio, 1990), to no relationship with follower performance (Podsakoff, et al. 1994) (as cited in Boehnke, et al. 2004).

Numerous leadership/management evaluation systems and instruments are labeled “360-degree-view” for measuring leader characteristics via the ratings of those who

surround the leader being rated. These instruments rating the leader may include not only followers but also the leader's peers and superiors. Traditionally, the *Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire* (MLQ) has been used to measure the various components of transformational leadership, and may be used as a self rating instrument or may be filled out by peers, superiors, or followers. The latest version of this instrument is the *MLQ-5x*, which also measures *laissez-faire* leadership and a number of leader *performance* outcomes (Panopoulos, et al. 2004).

Taiwanese Identity

Taiwan people are changing their self-image - a trend dramatically illustrated in the survey data from National Chengchi University's Election Study Center gathered since 1992. Since then, scholars have continuously tracked how Taiwan's people perceive themselves - over the past decade the number of those who call themselves "Taiwanese" has risen from 17.3 percent to 41.5 percent, roughly equal to the percentage who today select "both Taiwanese and Chinese." In contrast, pure "Chinese" identification has fallen from 26.2 to 9.9 percent. The surveys also show that Taiwanese orientation spikes whenever Beijing threatens the island, as it did with military exercises ahead of presidential elections in 1996 and 2000 (Wehrfritz, 2004).

As a result of March 2004 Taiwan presidential election, national identity, ethnic identity, and Taiwan identity have emerged noticeably as Taiwan people's self-awareness in Taiwan society today. The result of March 2004 Taiwan presidential election shows the Taiwan people are divided into two contrasting positions equally – 50.114% of voters prefer Taiwan independence and Taiwan identity while 49.886% of voters are opposed of that. While the whole society in Taiwan has been divided into two sectors opposing

against each other, the aforementioned phenomenon of feuds within family, friends, and workplaces also has become more obvious and observable everywhere in Taiwan society (China Post, 2004; Huang, 2004b).

Conclusions

Theoretical

Numerous studies on the leadership were found but mainly focus on various leadership theories or styles. However, the majority of leadership theoretical research and study have been focused from the leaders' perspectives rather than from the followers' perspectives. Little to no research exists regarding the influence on the transformational leadership imposed by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnics identities in the educational institutions or schools in Taiwan.

Also, few studies provide empirical literature discussing the transformational leadership and cognitive dissonance from the followers' dilemmas. Nonetheless, much has been done in the past on the theoretical functioning and significance of transactional and transformational leadership. All are from the perspective of leaders, such as what the leaders are expected to achieve, leadership traits, leadership styles, characteristics or charismatic of leaders, behavior of leaders, etc. Few research studies have been devoted to the extension of discussing the implications of confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, heterogeneous ethnic identities, diverse cultures, incompatible values and beliefs systems, confronting religions (Jewish, Muslim, and Islam), and cognitive dissonance on any of these subjects, from the perspective of followers.

It is recommended that future research studies in transformational leadership focus more on the followers and conduct a series of follower-oriented situational analyses of followers within distinct and diverse social and political contexts in order to examine the effect of certain existent identities, political stances, ideologies, culture, values systems, beliefs, and religions, as well as cognitive dissonance, embedded in the followers.

Empirical

Ju (2002) and Hong (2003) in their separate studies probed the same relationship between principals' transformational leadership, transactional leadership and teachers' job satisfaction in elementary schools in Taiwan. Ju (2002) and Hong (2003) both employed MLQ and cluster sampling techniques, and gathered more than eight hundred returned cases, respectively. The survey strategy in Ju's (2002) study employed two MLQ questionnaires: the first one identifies the score of principal's score of transformational or transactional leadership, and the second one identifies the score of teacher's job satisfaction (Ju, 2002).

The overall research strategy adopted in Ju's (2002) study and contributions are as follows. First, the current situation of principal transformational leadership, transactional leadership, and teacher job satisfaction in the selected elementary schools in Taiwan is revealed. Second, the ways teachers from various backgrounds perceive their principal's leadership and their job satisfaction differently are analyzed and discussed. Third, the relationship between principals' transformational leadership and teachers' job satisfaction was identified. Finally, the predicting function of how principal transformational and

transactional leadership influence teachers' job satisfaction from various aspects was probed (Ju, 2002).

The hypotheses in Ju' s study basically are to nullify the assumptions that each independent variable (gender, age, year of service, educational background, marriage, position of service) or intervening variable (years of establishment, number of classrooms, etc.) has no significant correlation to the principal's transformational or transactional leadership performance nor to the teacher's job satisfaction.

In analyzing the data, Ju (2002) used the method of descriptive and inferential statistics, including Likert's five-point scale, one-way MANOVA, Canonical Correlation Analysis, and Stepwise Multiple Regression.

Recommendations

Theoretical Reformulations

Ethnicity and geographical culture and society are generally regarded as the root of beliefs system and cognitive values that play a guiding role in choosing the political stances of people (Carroll & Harrison, 1998). The ethnicity of Taiwan people and the geographical culture and community in which Taiwan people reside with distinctive congruence of national security forged ought to be the appropriate intervening theoretical constructs supporting the theoretical reformulations in this context of influence on the transformational leadership performance implicated by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or ethnic identities.

Critical or Analytic Reviews

Few scholarly inquiries focusing on the Taiwan ethnic and national identity in the form of critical analyses have been conducted. However, few research studies have been done to explore the relationship between the transformational leadership performance and the implications imposed by confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities. Future scholarly inquiry using critical analyses of theoretical and empirical literature are needed to explore how the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, heterogeneous ethnic identities interfere the transformational leadership performance.

Empirical Studies

Empirical studies on measuring transformational and transactional leadership by team's performance and outcome do exist (Leadership Styles, 2004). Fascinating findings from reviewing Ju's (2002) and Hong's (2002) empirical studies include: (1) no control variables were introduced in their studies; (2) variables of gender, age, educational background, years of service, position of service, etc., were used as independent variables rather than control variables; and (3) variables of years of establishment, number of classrooms were used as independent variable rather than intervening variable. Also, no deliberation was given on the potential influence on the transformational leadership implicated by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnics identities.

Furthermore, scholarly inquiries discussing the Taiwan ethnic or national identity did not cross the boundary to the transformational leadership paradigm. There indeed exists a significant and researchable gap between the transformational leadership

doctrines and the paradigm of cognitive dissonance on confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities.

Methodological Studies

Methodological study is another area of future scholarly inquiry where research design, sample size, populations studied, and measurement of variables are needed. For the research study to examine or reveal the influence on the transformational leadership implicated by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities or heterogeneous ethnic identities in educational institutions and schools in Taiwan, several considerations are playing a major role in choosing a quantitative research method over a qualitative research method or a mixed method for this research study. These considerations included:

- The nature of this research study to explore and reveal the meaningfulness of the aforementioned social phenomenon can be quantified.
- There are meaningful variables and correlations between variables to be discovered in this research study.
- The data gathering can be done through survey and must be done through survey to conclude any statistical significance.
- The data interpretation and the content analysis can be conducted in a statistical analytical approach.
- The aforementioned social phenomenon is being viewed by the primary researcher through a holistically and quantitative lens.
- One or more quantitative strategies are being adopted by the primary researcher as a guideline for procedures in this quantitative research study.

Based on the above considerations, a quantitative research method is recommended to take place within a natural setting and to help explore the underlying facts. The first step in this quantitative research should be carefully locating the populations that have the most suitable characteristics for the research study. Locating the sample population and selecting proper sample size are two major issues in addressing the external validity concerns. This research methodology shall narrow its focus on the specific population in which leaders and followers having most strong and observable characteristics in relation to the conflicting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities. Also, this research methodology clearly identifies the implications of confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities, as well as effectively simplify the measurement of transformational leadership performance. The measurement instrument selected for this research study is inhabit from Ju's (2002) leadership performance research study.

Research Strategy

Recommendation

No study has explicitly examined how the factors of confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities or heterogeneous ethnic identities between leaders and their followers may complicate the followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership. This literature review identifies that the followers' dilemma or conflicts of cognitive dissonance from the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities or heterogeneous ethnic identities, could have been

extended to schools, either latent or unleashed among principals and teachers, and consequently impair the followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership. Such influences on the transformational leadership performance implicated by the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities, need to be examined. Furthermore, the factor of geographical regions also needs to be studied to investigate whether the geographical culture and social background also play a fundamental role in the above mentioned influence.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this research study is to explore the influence on followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership performance, which may be affected by heterogeneity in ethnic identities, national identities, political stances, and ideologies, or by the geographical regions, gender, and age in Taiwan.

The descriptions of research questions, variables, sampling, human subject issues, data sources, collection, organization, verification methods, and data quality concerns are presented in the subsequent sections.

Rationale and Assumptions

The rationale for this research design is that in the aftermath of March 2004 presidential election, Taiwan society has been divided into two contrasting political positions: the Pan-Blue alliance and the Pan-Green alliance, by the conflicts stimulated from the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, and heterogeneous ethnic identities. The assumption in this research study is that cognitive dissonance can be extended to the cognized beliefs and values stimulated from the confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, and heterogeneous ethnic identities.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Based on the aforementioned research motivation and purposes, the research questions and hypotheses were set forth as follows:

Research Question

Amid factors of confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, heterogeneous ethnic identities, geographical region, gender and age, what factors significantly affect the followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership?

The intent for this research question is to reveal the factors that may have a significant influence on the followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership. The candidates for factors gleaned from the literature review are: (1) the confronting political stances or ideologies; (2) the conflicting national identities; and (3) the heterogeneous ethnic identities. Additional factors of gender and age were added purposely to further examine their relationship not only with the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership, but also with the first three factors, which are the confronting political stances or ideologies, the conflicting national identities, and the heterogeneous ethnic identities.

Null Hypothesis

The null hypothesis is designed to test the outcome of quantitative research. The null hypothesis stated below is designed for the purpose of providing a statistical foundation for the obtained result of this research study to reject or accept it.

The Null Hypothesis for this study is as follows. The factors of confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, heterogeneous ethnic identities, geographical region, gender, and age all have no statistically significant influence on the followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership.

The null hypothesis is further extended as follows:

Sub-null Hypothesis #a Political stance or ideology has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

Sub-null Hypothesis #b National identity has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

Sub-null Hypothesis #c Ethnicity has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

Sub-null Hypothesis #d Geographical region has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

Sub-null Hypothesis #e Gender has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

Sub-null Hypothesis #f Age has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

Research Design

This research study was designed purposely as a multi-regression base, non-experimental, quantitative research study. Several considerations playing a major role in choosing a quantitative research method over a qualitative research method or a mixed method for this research study are narrated below:

- 1) The nature of this research study to explore and reveal the meaningfulness of the aforementioned social phenomenon can be quantified.
- 2) There are meaningful variables and relations between variables to be discovered in this research study.
- 3) The data gathering can be done through survey and must be done through survey to conclude any statistical significance.

- 4) The data analysis and interpretation can be conducted using a statistical analytical approach.
- 5) The aforementioned social phenomenon is being viewed by the primary researcher through a holistically and quantitative lens.
- 6) One or more quantitative strategies are being adopted by the primary researcher for procedures in this quantitative research study.

Based on the above considerations, a quantitative research method was selected to conduct within a natural setting and to help explore the underlying facts. The first step in this quantitative research study was carefully locating the populations that have the most suitable characteristics for this study. Locating the sample population and selecting proper sample composition and size were two of the major issues in addressing the external validity concerns. This research methodology narrowed its focus on the specific population in which leaders and followers having most strong and observable characteristics in relation to the conflicting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities. Also, this research methodology clearly identified the implications of confronting political stances or ideologies, conflicting national identities, or heterogeneous ethnic identities, as well as effectively simplify the measurement of transformational leadership performance. The measurement instrument selected in this research study is the leadership performance questionnaire used in Ju's (2002) "*A study of the relationship between principals' transformation and transactional leadership and teachers' job satisfaction*" research study. The leadership performance questionnaire designed and developed by Ju (2002) was designed specifically for the social culture and the society in Taiwan.

Dependent Variable

The sole dependent variable in this research study is the followers' perception on their leader's transformational leadership performance. This dependent variable is a continuous variable.

Operation Definition of Transformational Leadership

Panopoulos (2004) states that transformational leadership is defined in terms of four inter-related sub-types or factors: (a) individual consideration, (b) idealized influence, (c) inspirational motivation, and (d) intellectual stimulation. These four factors are so called "4I" components of transformational leadership. Panopoulos believes that these four sub-types, taken together, represent the most effective attitudes and behaviors present in a leader's repertoire (Panopoulos, 2004; Leadership styles, 2004).

This research study inherited the instruments from Ju's (2002) research study, and the dependent variable, the followers' perception on their leader's transformational leadership performance, was designed based on five components of transformational leadership (charisma or idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, individualized consideration, and vision) to reveal the degree (score) of a follower's perceptions on his/her leader's transformational leadership.

Instruments and Measurement Protocols

The explanation of how the instruments and measurements were clearly linked to the aforementioned dependent variable is as follows.

Measuring Transformational Leadership

The leadership performance questionnaire in Ju's (2002) "*A study of the relationship between principals' transformation and transactional leadership and teachers' job satisfaction*" research study was used. The leadership performance questionnaire designed and developed by Ju (2002) was designed specifically for the social culture and the society in Taiwan.

The transformational part in Ju's (2002) research was designed on the five components of transformational leadership (charisma or idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, individualized consideration, and vision) to reveal the degree (score) of a follower's perceptions on his/her leader's transformational leadership.

A Likert scale (1-5) was used for each question in the transformational leadership performance questionnaire in this research study, and the results from all questions were aggregated to a total score. The higher the total scores (1-125), the stronger perception of the leaders' transformational leadership performance from their followers' perspective.

Reliability and Instruments

Preexisting questionnaire in Ju's (2002) Research Study

The transformational leadership questionnaire in Ju's (2002) research study shows a proven reliability for each category (dimension) of questions as follows. A Chronbach's Alpha score of over .85 indicates an acceptable level of reliability.

Table 3-1

Reliability of Ju' (2002) Transformational Leadership Questionnaire

Category	Number of Questions	Reliability
Charisma	5	Alpha = .9224 N = 239
Inspirational Motivation	5	Alpha = .8920 N = 240
Intellectual Stimulation	5	Alpha = .9040 N = 239
Individualized Consideration	5	Alpha = .9148 N = 240
Vision	5	Alpha = .9043 N = 239

Questionnaire for Measuring Transformational Leadership

Basically, the questionnaire in this research study was adapted from Ju's (2002) leadership performance questionnaire, but with change of words of "The principal" to "Your supervisor," "school" to "organization," "our" to "your," "teaching" to "skill," "new teachers" to "new employees," and "us" or "we" to "you."

Highlighted with underlines, the change between the original questions and the questions are illustrated in the Table 3-1 with a few examples:

Table 3-2

Wording Change in Transformational Leadership Questionnaire

Questions in Ju's Research Study	Questions in this Study
<u>The principal</u> is easy-going and pleasant and possesses a sense of humors.	<u>Your supervisor</u> is easy-going and pleasant and possesses a sense of humors.
<u>The principal</u> will seek to meet and discuss with <u>us</u> the future developments of <u>our</u> <u>school</u> .	<u>Your supervisor</u> will seek to meet and discuss with <u>you</u> the future developments of <u>your organization</u> .

The reliability of the revised questions used in this research study was tested and examined with the pilot survey that is fully discussed in the next chapter.

The complete survey questionnaire used in this research study is exhibited as Appendix C.

Permission to Use Ju's Leadership Performance Questionnaire

The consent letter from Ju (2002) for using the instruments and the research method she designed and developed in her research study, published in August 2002 in Taiwan, is exhibited as Appendix B.

Independent Variables

Questions

The questions for gathering the information of the corresponding independent variables are listed together below:

Question 1 and 2 for Political Stances or Ideologies

- Your political stance (Pan-green, Pan-blue, Others, Unknown)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #1a: Pan-green (0, 1)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #1b: Pan-blue (0, 1)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #1c: Follower Has Other Political Stance (0, 1)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #1d: Follower Has Unknown Political Stance (0,1)
- Do you think you and your supervisor share a same political stance or ideology (Yes, No, Not sure)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #2a: Leader Has Same Political Stance (0, 1)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #2b: Leader Has Different Political Stance (0, 1)

- Discrete Independent Variable #2c: Leader Has Unsure Political Stance
(0,1)

Question 3 and 4 for National Identities

- Your national identity (Keep status quo, Pro-independence of Taiwan, Pro-unity with China, Others, Not sure)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #3a: Keep status quo (0, 1)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #3b: Pro-independence of Taiwan (0, 1)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #3c: Pro-unity with China (0, 1)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #3d: Follower Has Other National Identity
(0, 1)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #3e: Follower Has Unsure National Identity (0, 1)
- You think you and your supervisor share a same national identity (Yes, No, Not sure)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #4a: Leader Has Same National Identity
(0, 1)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #4b: Leader Has Different National Identity (0, 1)
 - Discrete Independent Variable #4c: Leader Has Unsure National Identity
(0, 1)

Question 5 and 6 for Ethnic Identities

- Your ethnic identity (Native Taiwanese, Mainlander, Hakka, Aboriginal, Others, Unknown)

- *Discrete Independent Variable #5a*: Native Taiwanese (0, 1)
- *Discrete Independent Variable #5b*: Mainlander (0, 1)
- *Discrete Independent Variable #5c*: Hakka (0, 1)
- *Discrete Independent Variable #5d*: Aboriginal (0, 1)
- *Discrete Independent Variable #5e*: Follower Has Other Ethnic Identity (0, 1)
- *Discrete Independent Variable #5f*: Follower Has Unsure Ethnic Identity (0, 1)
- You think you and your supervisor have the same ethnic identity (Yes, No, Not Sure)
 - *Discrete Independent Variable #6a*: Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity (0, 1)
 - *Discrete Independent Variable #6b*: Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity (0, 1)
 - *Discrete Independent Variable #6c*: Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity (0, 1)

Question 7 for Geographical Regions

- You live in the region of Taiwan (North, East, Central, South)
 - *Discrete Independent Variable #7a*: North Region (0, 1)
 - *Discrete Independent Variable #7b*: East Region (0, 1)
 - *Discrete Independent Variable #7c*: Central Region (0, 1)
 - *Discrete Independent Variable #7d*: South Region (0, 1)

Question 8 for Gender

- Your gender (Male, Female)
 - *Discrete Independent Variable #8a*: Male (0, 1)
 - *Discrete Independent Variable #8b*: Female (0, 1)

Question 9 for Age

- What is your age?
 - *Continuous Independent Variable #9*: Age

Pilot Test Plan

A pilot test of the survey instrument was conducted to verify and confirm the reliability of the questionnaire.

Chronbach's Alpha Test

The Chronbach's Alpha analysis was used to measure the reliability of every question in the survey and identify the coefficient of reliability of each question to the overall score of all questions in survey. For questions in survey that have "low" or "bad" reliability ($\text{Alpha} < .85$), revisions of the questions may take place and the pilot test may iterate until all questions have a "high" or "good" reliability.

Reliability of Transformational Leadership Questionnaire

Exhibited as Appendix D and in Table 3-3, the reliability of questionnaire for measuring the transformational leadership performance in this research study is illustrated below with the 335 valid cases returned in the pilot testing.

Table 3-3

Reliability Analysis of Transformational Leadership Questionnaire

Question Number	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
Q1	74.3493	418.9106	.6573	.6573
Q2	74.4657	413.4112	.8070	.9728
Q3	74.4507	417.4878	.7368	.9733
Q4	74.5493	414.4878	.7764	.9730
Q5	74.3701	413.7608	.7816	.9730
Q6	74.4328	416.7073	.7576	.9732
Q7	74.4269	416.4490	.7501	.9732
Q8	74.3104	415.5860	.7432	.9733
Q9	74.3403	416.9856	.7612	.9731
Q10	74.3104	415.8195	.7501	.9732
Q11	74.4985	414.5262	.7467	.9732
Q12	74.4507	416.6615	.7619	.9731
Q13	74.5104	411.8914	.7889	.9729
Q14	74.4806	412.5198	.8196	.9727
Q15	74.5463	412.9612	.7171	.9735
Q16	74.4060	414.9365	.8007	.9729
Q17	74.3731	413.8753	.7754	.9730
Q18	74.2657	416.8184	.7419	.9733
Q19	74.5612	412.1452	.7977	.9729
Q20	74.4388	415.1871	.7546	.9732
Q21	74.5134	411.6877	.7964	.9729
Q22	74.6507	414.2399	.7732	.9730
Q23	74.5970	413.6365	.8021	.9728
Q24	74.4448	414.4573	.7779	.9730
Q25	74.4388	413.3069	.7661	.9731

Table 3-4

Reliability Analysis of Transformational Leadership Questionnaire by Category

Category (Dimension)	Question Number	Reliability
Charisma	1 - 5	Alpha = .9732 N = 335
Inspirational Motivation	6 - 10	Alpha = .9732 N = 335
Intellectual Stimulation	11 - 15	Alpha = .9730 N = 335
Individualized Consideration	16 - 20	Alpha = .9730 N = 335
Vision	21 - 25	Alpha = .9729 N = 335

Since the reliability of each question in the transformational leadership questionnaire reached an acceptable coefficient alpha value, no further revision to the transformational leadership questionnaire in the full-scale survey was required.

Population and Sample

The population in this research study includes any working adult in the general public who works in Taiwan in either public or private sectors and has a supervisor (leader) to directly report to. For instance, the cases in the sample can be the teachers or administrative staff in the public elementary and middle schools in Taiwan while the leaders are the teachers' principals or the heads of administration. Other examples are workers at factories, government employees or professionals in various business organizations while the leaders are the foremen at factories, managers in organizations, or supervisors in government agencies or heads of government departments, etc., in Taiwan.

Rationale for Sample Size

The minimum required sample size needed for this research would be 810 valid cases. The rationale of calculation is extended as follows:

- Totally there are 30 discrete independent variables and 1 continuous independent variable in this research study.
- To effectively apply multi-regression test, each discrete independent variable requests at least 10 valid cases.
- For each age in range from 20 to 70, it requests at least 10 valid cases.
- Therefore, the minimum of required sample size is $30 \text{ discrete variables} * 10 + 1$ (each age from 20 to 70) $* 10 = 810$ (valid cases).

Discussion of Sampling Plan

Methods of Survey

The sampling used in this research study was a convenience sampling in the general public. The survey was distributed solely through hard copy questionnaires.

Sampling Plan

Since the population in this research study was the working adults in general public in Taiwan, there were no specific criteria for the selection of cases. Any participants working and reporting to a supervisor in either public or private sectors is eligible for being a sample in this research study.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire consists of two parts. Part I questions collect the data for the participant's profile and thus have independent variables. Part II questions target at measuring the leader's transformational leadership and have the dependent variable in this research study. The Part II transformational leadership questionnaire is exhibited as Appendix A.

Anonymity of Participants

Besides the gender and the age variables, no other personal information of participants was collected in this research study. Therefore, there is no way to identify the respondents through the returned questionnaires. This ensures the anonymity of the study participants. The data collected from the questionnaire were kept by the primary researcher in a secure location and will be kept for five years before disposal.

No Children Involved in Study

No children under the age of 18 were involved in this research study.

Procedures for Recruitment of Participants

In addition to the survey respondents in the convenience cases, additional legitimate means allowed by the laws in Taiwan were used to expedite the completion of survey within the timeframe. These proactive means included:

- 1) Throughout all available social connections, friendship, and relationship, the primary researcher did his best effort recruiting helpers in various organizations who were willing to help by identifying, screening and soliciting his/her eligible co-workers or friends to participate in this research study.
- 2) There was no monetary reward for participants and helpers in this research study.

Also, no advertising was used in recruiting participants. The mailing list and email list was neither used for the following reasons:

- 1) In Taiwan it is illegal to get any mail or email listing without the consent of the recipients in the mail or the email list.
- 2) In Taiwan it is also illegal to send mails or emails to recipients without their consent first.

Strengths and Limitations of Population/Sampling

The population of this research study consists of working adults in the general public in Taiwan, so the population is dynamic and in constant flux. It changes with time and can never be localized and identified.

In addition, slight differences exist in social culture and political context amid four geographical regions in Taiwan, the distribution of ethnic groups in four different geographical regions also varies significantly. For instance, a specific ethnic group may congregate in one geographical region. Another consideration is that the population in a geographical region might have a tendency toward a specific national identity. Though revealing the facts of these influencing factors is the purpose of this research study, still these factors might have imposed limitations on sampling strategy and procedures, and consequently might have influenced the result and finding of this research study.

Generalizability

Due to the limitations of sample size, geographical factor on the cases, monetary and time constraints, this research study did not attempt to derive any generalization to the larger population.

Procedures to Enhance Response Rates

Besides the aforementioned sampling strategy and procedure, no specific procedure was conducted to enhance the response rates in this research study. Furthermore, no procedure was adapted for improving the participant retention since this research study is a survey based quantitative research study.

Strengths and Limitations of Data Collection Strategy

There were no special considerations on the strengths or limitations of data collection strategy in this research study.

Data Analysis Plan

Statistical Tools

To answer the aforementioned hypotheses, the data collected from the survey was analyzed and the results are discussed in the next chapter. The collected data, initially in the format of a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, was analyzed with SPSS Windows version 11.5 on a personal computer (PC).

The data analysis is fully consistent with the aforementioned research questions, hypotheses, unit of analysis, and research design in this research study. The discussion of data analysis plan is extended in detail as follows.

Confidence Level (Level of Statistical Significance)

The confidence level in this research study was set to $p \leq 0.05$.

Re-code

Since all independent variables, except for age, in this research study are all discrete variables, the answers to the questions designed for collecting the data of independent variables were re-coded and transformed to the corresponding discrete independent variables. For instance, a re-code procedure was applied to the answer to the question of "Your political stance." If a participant checked "Pan-Green" as his/her political stance, the re-code function in SPSS transforms the answer to a value of "1" in the discrete independent variable #1a "Pan-Green" while value of "0" in discrete independent variables #1b "Pan-Blue," #1c "Follower Has Other Political Stance," and #1d "Follower Has Unknown Political Stance."

Likewise, the answers to the remaining questions, except the age and the questions measuring the leaders' leadership performance, were all re-coded and transformed to the corresponding discrete independent variables accordingly.

Likert Scale

The Likert scale (1-5) was used to convert the values of "Completely not in agreement," "Mostly not in agreement," "Partially in agreement," "Mostly in agreement," and "Completely in agreement" in answers to the questions. A value of "1" was assigned to the "Completely not in agreement", and "2" to "Mostly not in agreement", and so on.

Then, all scores of Likert's scales were summed, and the total score represents the strength of the dependent variable – the participant's perception of his/her leader's transformational leadership performance.

Descriptive Analysis

In this research study, descriptive statistics were analyzed for each variable, including measures of frequency, central tendency (mean, median, mode), and variability (standard deviation, variance, range).

Relationship between All Discrete Variables

In this research study, the Cross-tabulation procedure in SPSS was used to reveal the relationship between any two discrete independent variables.

Relationship between All Continuous Variables

It is very important in a multi-regression analysis to identify any continuous (independent) variables that are highly correlated to each other. Such highly correlated continuous (independent) variables must be identified at the earlier stage of data analysis, so that at later stage they will not be mixed used in the multi-regression analysis to ensure that multi-co-linearity is not a problem.

Since age is the only continuous independent variable in this research study, the Bi-variate Correlation analysis, the Pearson and the Spearman Correlation Coefficients were not used in this research study.

Multi-co-linearity

Multi-co-linearity is the degree of correlation between continuous (independent) variables. A high degree of multi-co-linearity between continuous (independent) variables may produce an unacceptable uncertainty (large variance) in any multiple regression analysis.

Since the age is the only continuous independent variable in this research study, no multi-co-linearity analysis was conducted.

Explore to Analyze Discrete and Continuous Variables

In this research study, the Explore procedure in SPSS was used to analyze the relationship between all discrete independent variables and the only one continuous dependent variable.

By entering the only continuous dependent variable into the “Dependent List” while all independent variables to the “Factor List”, the measures of mean, median, 5%

trimmed mean, standard error, variance, standard deviation, minimum, maximum, range, interquartile range, skewness, kurtosis and confidence interval between the independent variables and the dependent variable were all analyzed.

Multiple Regression Analysis

In this research study, multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine the influence of all independent variables on the dependent variable. Since in this research study, all independent variables except for age are all discrete, there are no concerns regarding multi-co-linearity, and all discrete independent variables and the only continuous independent variable (age) were used to determine their joint and unique influence on the dependent variable.

The mathematical representation of the multiple regression analysis in this research study is illustrated as follows:

$$Y = a + c_1 * X_1 + c_2 * X_2 + c_3 * X_3 + \dots + c_n * X_n$$

Where:

Y: Dependent variable (follower's perception of his/her leader's transformational leadership performance)

a: A constant (error term)

X₁: Independent variable #1 (or predictor #1) "Pan-Green"

c₁: Regression coefficient (amount of influence) of X₁ to the prediction of Y

X₂: Independent variable #2 (or predictor #2) "Pan-Blue"

c₂: Regression coefficient (amount of influence) of X₂ to the prediction of Y

....

X_n: Independent variable #n (or predictor #n) "Age"

cn: Regression coefficient (amount of influence) of X_n to the prediction of Y

In this research study, the outcome from the multiple regression analysis was used to accept or reject the aforementioned null hypotheses.

Testing of Null Hypotheses

The result of data analysis was used to test the aforementioned hypotheses.

Strengths and Limitations of Data Analysis Plan

With the precaution on avoiding the multi-co-linearity, there were no special concerns on any risks or threats that could impact the integrity or the validity in the data analysis plan of this research study.

Strengths and Limitations of Research Design

The strength of this research design is the simplicity of the research design. The simplicity is laid down on that the sole dependent variable was measured with a preexisting questionnaire and proven instruments and that all independent variables, with the exception of age, are all discrete type. Thus, multi-co-linearity was not an issue at all. Accordingly, the data analysis was relatively simple and straightforward.

Limitations

The major limitation in this research would stem from that the leaders' political stance, national identity and ethnicity were not collected by the researcher, but, instead, answered or guessed by the participants. The research design of this research study is to reveal how the followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership get affected by the factors of confronting political stances, conflicting national identities, and/or heterogeneous ethnic identities. These factors can be totally based on the

perception, the feeling or the understanding of followers' on their leader possesses a different political stance, national identity, or ethnic identity. The leaders' actual political stance, national identity, and ethnic identity then become totally irrelevant in this research design. The argument of this is that a follower's perception of his/her leader's transformational leadership might get affected simply because the follower believes his/her leader has a different political stance, national identity, and/or ethnic identity than his/her, even though in reality they both share the same political stance, national identity, or ethnic identity.

Nonetheless, to relieve this concern, "UNKNOWN" and "NOT SURE" answer choices were added so that any uncertainty on answering the leader's possession of political stance, national identity, and ethnic identity can be minimized.

Summary

In summary, the purpose of this quantitative research study is to explore the influence on followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership performance, which may be affected by heterogeneous ethnic identities, conflicting national identities, or confronting political stances and ideologies in Taiwan.

The population in this research study is the working adults in general public. The sampling and the survey are done through hard-copy questionnaires only. The data are collected by the attached return envelopes mailed back by the participants themselves. Finally, the data analysis is completed with SPSS statistical tools running on a personal computer.

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

Pilot Survey

A pilot test of the survey instrument was conducted in the months of September and October 2004 in Taiwan to validate the reliability of the transformational leadership performance questionnaire. In total, 400 survey questionnaires were distributed through the aforementioned sampling plan. Of the 400 distributed, 361 sample cases were returned, but only 335 cases were valid.

The pilot test was conducted only in the north and the south regions of Taiwan.

Full Survey

The full survey was conducted in the months of November and December 2004 in Taiwan. The total number of survey questionnaires distributed was 1400, and the number of returned cases was 1141 in which 1121 were valid.

The full survey was conducted in all four regions (north, central, south, and east) of Taiwan.

Data Analysis Procedures and Methods

The procedures and methods of using SPSS to analyze the collected data in this research are extended in detail as follows.

Confidence Level (Level of Statistical Significance)

The confidence level in this research study was set to $p \leq 0.05$.

Statistical Tools

To answer the aforementioned hypotheses, the data collected from the survey was analyzed and the results are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs. The collected data was entered into and analyzed with SPSS Windows version 11.5.0 on a personal computer (PC).

The data analysis is fully consistent with the aforementioned research questions, hypotheses, unit of analysis, and research design in this research study.

Re-code

Since all independent variables, except the age, in this research study are all nominal variables, the answers to the questions designed for collecting the data of independent variables were re-coded and transformed to the corresponding dichotomous discrete independent variables ("dummy variables"). For instance, a re-code procedure was applied to the answer to the question of "Your political stance." If a participant checked "Pan-Green" as his or her political stance, the re-code function in SPSS transforms the answer to a value of "1" in the discrete independent variable #1a "Pan-Green" while value of "0" in discrete independent variables #1b "Pan-Blue," #1c "Follower Has Other Political Stance," and #1d "Follower Has Unknown Political Stance."

Likewise, the answers to the remaining questions, except the age and the questions, that measure the transformational leadership performance, were all re-coded and transformed to the corresponding discrete independent variables accordingly.

Likert's Scale

The Likert's scale (1-5) was used to convert the values of "Completely not in agreement," "Mostly not in agreement," "Partially in agreement," "Mostly in agreement," and "Completely in agreement" in answers to the questions of transformational leadership performance. A value of "1" was assigned to the "Completely not in agreement", and "2" to "Mostly not in agreement", and so on.

Then, all scores of Likert's scales were summed, and the total score represents the strength of the dependent variable – the participant's perception of his or her leader's transformational leadership performance.

Data Completeness Analysis

The explore function in SPSS was used to examine the data completeness in all valid cases.

Descriptive Analysis

In this research study, descriptive statistics was analyzed for each variable, including measures of frequency, measure of central tendency (mean, median, and mode), variability (standard deviation, variance, and range), minimum and maximum values.

Relational Analysis

The Cross-tabulation analysis and Chi Square were used in this research study to analyze the association between any two discrete variables.

The Pearson Correlation analysis was used to measure the relationship between the continuous variable Age and each discrete variable.

The Pearson Correlation, Kendal's tau-b, and Spearman Rank-Order analyses were used to analyze the correlation between two continuous variables.

Statistical Analysis

The Multiple Regression Analysis was used to analyze the amount of influence each independent variable had on the dependent variable Transformational Leadership Performance.

Multi-co-linearity

Multi-co-linearity is the degree of correlation between continuous (independent) variables. A high degree of multi-co-linearity between continuous (independent) variables may produce an unacceptable uncertainty (large variance) in any multiple regression analysis. Therefore, it is important in a multiple regression analysis to identify any continuous (independent) variables that are highly correlated to each other. Such highly correlated continuous (independent) variables must be identified at the earlier stage of data analysis, so that at the later stage these highly correlated continuous (independent) variables will not be mix-used in the multi-regression analysis to ensure the multi-co-linearity.

Since "age" is the only continuous independent variable in this research study, there is no multi-co-linearity concern in this research.

Relationship between All Continuous Variables

The Pearson Correlation analysis, the Kendall's tau-b Correlation analysis, and the Spearman rank-Order Correlation analysis were used to examine the relationship

between the continuous (independent) variable, Age, and the continuous (dependent) variable, Transformational Leadership Performance, in this research study.

Correlation Analysis between Continuous and Discrete Variables

In this research study, the Pearson Correlation in SPSS was used to analyze the relationship between the continuous (independent) variable Age and every discrete independent variable.

Multiple Regression Analysis

In this research study, multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine the amount of influence of all independent variables (predicators) on the dependent variable Transformational Leadership Performance. Again, since in this research study, all independent variables except for Age are all discrete variables, there were no concerns regarding the multi-co-linearity. All discrete independent variables and the only continuous independent variable (age) were used as the predicators on determining their joint influence on the dependent variable Transformational Leadership Performance.

The mathematical representation of the multiple regression analysis in this research study is illustrated as follows:

$$Y = a + c_1 * X_1 + c_2 * X_2 + c_3 * X_3 + \dots + c_n * X_n$$

Where:

Y: Dependent variable (follower's perception of his/her leader's transformational leadership performance)

a: A constant

X1: Independent variable #1 (or predictor #1) "Pan-Green"

c1: Regression coefficient (amount of influence) of X1 to the prediction of Y

X2: Independent variable #2 (or predictor #2) “Pan-Blue”

c2: Regression coefficient (amount of influence) of X2 to the prediction of Y

....

Xn: Independent variable #n (or predictor #n) “Age”

cn: Regression coefficient (amount of influence) of Xn to the prediction of Y

In this research study, the outcome from the multiple regression analysis was used to test the aforementioned null hypotheses, and the discussion is extended in the subsequent chapter.

Coefficient Analysis in Multiple Regression Analysis

In this research study, the coefficient of each entered independent variable (predictor) in the multiple regression analysis was analyzed.

Relative Influence Analysis in Multiple Regression Analysis

The relative influence of each entered independent variable (predictor) to the dependent variable (transformational leadership performance) in the multiple regression analysis was analyzed.

Collinearity Analysis in Multiple Regression Analysis

In this research study, the collinearity between each entered independent variables (predictors) in the multiple regression analysis was analyzed.

Residuals Analysis in Multiple Regression Analysis

The residuals statistics in the multiple regression analysis was analyzed as well.

Distribution Normality of Residuals in Multiple Regression Analysis

In this research study, the distribution of standardized residuals in the multiple regression analysis was also examined.

Linearity of Residuals in Multiple Regression Analysis

In this research study, the linearity between the leadership performance and the residuals in the multiple regression analysis was examined as well.

Testing of Null Hypotheses

The result of the multiple regression analysis was used to accept or reject the aforementioned null hypotheses, and the discussion is extended in subsequent chapter.

Strengths and Limitations of Data Analysis

With the precaution of avoiding the multi-co-linearity, there were no special concerns on any risks or threats that could impact the integrity or the validity in the data analysis plan of this research study.

Chronbach's Alpha Analysis

The Chronbach's alpha analysis was used to evaluate every question in the transformational leadership questionnaire and to analyze the coefficient of reliability of each question to the overall score of all questions in the transformational leadership questionnaire.

For questions in survey that have "low" or "bad" reliability, revisions of the questions was expected to take place and pilot test was expected to iterate until all questions reach a "high" or "good" reliability.

Reliability of Transformational Leadership Questionnaire

Exhibited as Appendix G and in Table 4-1, with the 335 valid cases returned in the pilot survey, the reliability of each question in the transformational leadership questionnaire is illustrated below.

Table 4-1

Reliability Analysis of Transformational Leadership Questionnaire

Question Number	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
Q1	74.3493	418.9106	.6573	.6573
Q2	74.4657	413.4112	.8070	.9728
Q3	74.4507	417.4878	.7368	.9733
Q4	74.5493	414.4878	.7764	.9730
Q5	74.3701	413.7608	.7816	.9730
Q6	74.4328	416.7073	.7576	.9732
Q7	74.4269	416.4490	.7501	.9732
Q8	74.3104	415.5860	.7432	.9733
Q9	74.3403	416.9856	.7612	.9731
Q10	74.3104	415.8195	.7501	.9732
Q11	74.4985	414.5262	.7467	.9732
Q12	74.4507	416.6615	.7619	.9731
Q13	74.5104	411.8914	.7889	.9729
Q14	74.4806	412.5198	.8196	.9727
Q15	74.5463	412.9612	.7171	.9735
Q16	74.4060	414.9365	.8007	.9729
Q17	74.3731	413.8753	.7754	.9730
Q18	74.2657	416.8184	.7419	.9733
Q19	74.5612	412.1452	.7977	.9729
Q20	74.4388	415.1871	.7546	.9732
Q21	74.5134	411.6877	.7964	.9729
Q22	74.6507	414.2399	.7732	.9730
Q23	74.5970	413.6365	.8021	.9728
Q24	74.4448	414.4573	.7779	.9730
Q25	74.4388	413.3069	.7661	.9731

Table 4-2

Reliability Analysis of Transformational Leadership Questionnaire by Category

Category (Dimension)	Question Number	Reliability
Charisma	1 - 5	Alpha = .9732 N = 335
Inspirational Motivation	6 - 10	Alpha = .9732 N = 335

Table 4-2 (continued)

Reliability Analysis of Transformational Leadership Questionnaire by Category

Category (Dimension)	Question Number	Reliability
Intellectual Stimulation	11 - 15	Alpha = .9730 N = 335
Individualized Consideration	16 - 20	Alpha = .9730 N = 335
Vision	21 - 25	Alpha = .9729 N = 335

Table 4-2 presents the reliability by categories of questions (or dimension of transformational leadership). Since the reliability of every question in the transformational leadership questionnaire reached an acceptable level of coefficient alpha value, no further edition to the transformational leadership questionnaire was made, and the aforementioned transformational leadership questionnaire was accordingly used in the full-scale survey.

Data Completeness Analysis

The input data was first scrutinized with the Explore function in SPSS to ensure no missing data or any mistakes on the data entry. The following charts (Tables 4-3a to 4-3h) illustrate the completeness of input data.

Table 4-3a

Case Processing Summary - Follower's Political Stance

Follower's Political Stance	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Pan Green	293	100.0%	0	.0%	293	100.0%
Pan Blue	302	100.0%	0	.0%	302	100.0%
Other Political Stance	177	100.0%	0	.0%	177	100.0%
Unsure Political Stance	349	100.0%	0	.0%	349	100.0%

Table 4-3b

Case Processing Summary - Leader's Political Stance

Leader's Political Stance	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Leader Has Same Political Stance	303	100.0%	0	.0%	303	100.0%
Leader Has Different Political Stance	251	100.0%	0	.0%	251	100.0%
Leader Has Unsure Political Stance	567	100.0%	0	.0%	567	100.0%

Table 4-3c

Case Processing Summary - Follower's National Identity

Follower's National Identity	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Keep Status Quo	562	100.0%	0	.0%	562	100.0%
Pro-independence	275	100.0%	0	.0%	275	100.0%
Pro-unity	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Other National Identity	97	100.0%	0	.0%	97	100.0%
Unsure National Identity	119	100.0%	0	.0%	119	100.0%

Table 4-3d

Case Processing Summary - Leader's National Identity

Leader's National Identity	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Leader Has Same National Identity	339	100.0%	0	.0%	339	100.0%
Leader Has Different National Identity	191	100.0%	0	.0%	191	100.0%
Leader Has Unsure National Identity	591	100.0%	0	.0%	591	100.0%

Table 4-3e

Case Processing Summary - Follower's Ethnic Identity

Follower's Ethnic Identity	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Native Taiwanese	779	100.0%	0	.0%	779	100.0%
Mainlander	108	100.0%	0	.0%	108	100.0%
Hakka	82	100.0%	0	.0%	82	100.0%
Aboriginals	13	100.0%	0	.0%	13	100.0%
Other Ethnic Identity	56	100.0%	0	.0%	56	100.0%
Unsure Ethnic Identity	83	100.0%	0	.0%	83	100.0%

Table 4-3f

Case Processing Summary - Leader's Ethnic Identity

Leader's Ethnic Identity	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	434	100.0%	0	.0%	434	100.0%
Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	253	100.0%	0	.0%	253	100.0%
Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity	434	100.0%	0	.0%	434	100.0%

Table 4-3g

Case Processing Summary - Region

Region	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
North	296	100.0%	0	.0%	296	100.0%
East	96	100.0%	0	.0%	96	100.0%
Central	275	100.0%	0	.0%	275	100.0%
South	454	100.0%	0	.0%	454	100.0%

Table 4-3h

Case Processing Summary - Gender

Gender	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Male	578	100.0%	0	.0%	578	100.0%
Female	543	100.0%	0	.0%	543	100.0%

Descriptive Analysis

A series of descriptive analyses were conducted after the completeness of data was secured. In the following paragraphs, the frequency analysis was conducted to analyze the count of each discrete variable. The discussion is extended as follows.

Frequency Analysis

Table 4-4a

Frequency Analysis - Follower's Political Stance

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Pan Green	293	26.1	26.1	26.1
	Pan Blue	302	26.9	26.9	53.1
	Other Political Stance	177	15.8	15.8	68.9
	Unsure Political Stance	349	31.1	31.1	100.0
	Total	1121	100.0	100.0	

Table 4-4a and Figure 4-4a (exhibited in Appendix E) show the diversity among four followers' political stance in the 1121 valid cases was equally reached. Of the 1121 cases, 293 (or 26.1%) cases claimed they are Pan-green while 302 (or 26.9%) claimed Pan-blue and 117 (or 15.8%) claimed they had other political stance. A noteworthy fact is that 349 (or 31.1%) cases claimed they were not sure of their own political stance.

Table 4-4b

Frequency Analysis - Leader's Political Stance

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Leader Has Same Political Stance	303	27.0	27.0	27.0
	Leader Has Different Political Stance	251	22.4	22.4	49.4
	Leader Has Unsure Political Stance	567	50.6	50.6	100.0
	Total	1121	100.0	100.0	

Exhibited in Appendix E, Table 4-4b and Figure 4-4b (exhibited in Appendix E) indicate that 49.4% (27% + 22.4%) of 1121 cases were confident of knowing their leader's political stance while 50.6% were not.

Table 4-4c

Frequency Analysis - Follower's National Identity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Keep Status Quo	562	50.1	50.1	50.1
	Pro-independence	275	24.5	24.5	74.7
	Pro-unity	68	6.1	6.1	80.7
	Other National Identity	97	8.7	8.7	89.4
	Unsure National Identity	119	10.6	10.6	100.0
	Total	1121	100.0	100.0	

Table 4-4c and Figure 4-4c (exhibited in Appendix E) depict that 50.1% of cases preferred keep the status quo on Taiwan's sovereignty issues while 24.5% were in favor of Taiwan independence.

One noteworthy fact is that only 8.7% inclined toward unification with China while 10.6% were not sure where Taiwan should go and 8.7% made up their own ideology.

Table 4-4d

Frequency Analysis - Leader's National Identity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Leader Has Same National Identity	339	30.2	30.2	30.2
	Leader Has Different National Identity	191	17.0	17.0	47.3
	Leader Has Unsure National Identity	591	52.7	52.7	100.0
	Total	1121	100.0	100.0	

Table 4-4d and Figure 4-4d (exhibited in Appendix E) reveal that 47.2% (30.2% + 17%) of 1121 cases were confident of knowing their leader’s national identity while 52.7% were not.

Table 4-4e

Frequency Analysis - Follower's Ethnic Identity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Native Taiwanese	779	69.5	69.5	69.5
	Mainlander	108	9.6	9.6	79.1
	Hakka	82	7.3	7.3	86.4
	Aboriginals	13	1.2	1.2	87.6
	Other Ethnic Identity	56	5.0	5.0	92.6
	Unsure Ethnic Identity	83	7.4	7.4	100.0
	Total	1121	100.0	100.0	

Table 4-4e and Figure 4-4e (exhibited in Appendix E) show the distribution of ethnicity in the 1121 cases – 69.5% were Native Taiwanese, 9.6% Mainlander, 7.3% Hakka, and 1.2% Aboriginals, while 5% had other ethnicity and 7.4% were not sure of their own ethnic identity. The above ethnicity distribution among the 1121 cases is close to the figures in Perrin’s (2004) *Time Research* that reported Taiwan's 23 million people belong to four distinct ethnic groups: Taiwanese (64%, 14.7m), Mainlanders (14%, 3.2m), Hakka (20%, 4.6m), and Aborigines (2%, 450,000).

Nonetheless, it is worth noting that only 7.3% of 1121 cases claimed they are Mainlander, and that 7.3% figure is lower than the 14% reported in Perrin’s (2004) research.

Table 4-4f

Frequency Analysis - Leader's Ethnic Identity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	434	38.7	38.7	38.7
	Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	253	22.6	22.6	61.3
	Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity	434	38.7	38.7	100.0
	Total	1121	100.0	100.0	

Table 4-4f and Figure 4-4f (exhibited in Appendix E) denote that 61.3% (38.7% + 22.6%) of 1121 cases were confident of identifying their leader's ethnicity while 38.7% were not.

The higher 61.3% percentage than 47.2% (on identifying leader's national identify) and 49.4% (on identifying leader's political stance) could be attributed to the fact that a person's ethnicity can be easily identified by the physical outlook.

Table 4-4g

Frequency Analysis – Region

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	North	296	26.4	26.4	26.4
	East	96	8.6	8.6	35.0
	Central	275	24.5	24.5	59.5
	South	454	40.5	40.5	100.0
	Total	1121	100.0	100.0	

Table 4-4g and Figure 4-4g (exhibited in Appendix E) indicate that 40.5% of 1121 cases lived in the south region while 26.4% in the north region, 24.5% in the central region, and only 8.6% in the east region.

The lower figure of 8.6% from the east region was attributed to that the demographics in the east region of Taiwan is lower than the other three regions and that the primary researcher had less help and social connections and for survey in that region.

Table 4-4h

Frequency Analysis - Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	578	51.6	51.6	51.6
	Female	543	48.4	48.4	100.0
	Total	1121	100.0	100.0	

Table 4-4h and Figure 4-4h (exhibited in Appendix E) show that 51.6% (or 578) of 1121 cases are male while 48.4% (or 543) are female participants.

Table 4-4i

Frequency Analysis - Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18	10	.9	.9	.9
	19	6	.5	.5	1.4
	20	28	2.5	2.5	3.9
	21	25	2.2	2.2	6.2
	22	25	2.2	2.2	8.4
	23	24	2.1	2.1	10.5
	24	37	3.3	3.3	13.8
	25	39	3.5	3.5	17.3
	26	33	2.9	2.9	20.2
	27	30	2.7	2.7	22.9
	28	45	4.0	4.0	26.9
	29	34	3.0	3.0	30.0
	30	67	6.0	6.0	36.0
	31	18	1.6	1.6	37.6
	32	19	1.7	1.7	39.3
	33	27	2.4	2.4	41.7
	34	21	1.9	1.9	43.5

Table 4-4i (continued)

Frequency Analysis - Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	35	45	4.0	4.0	47.5
	36	31	2.8	2.8	50.3
	37	28	2.5	2.5	52.8
	38	29	2.6	2.6	55.4
	39	23	2.1	2.1	57.4
	40	65	5.8	5.8	63.2
	41	13	1.2	1.2	64.4
	42	24	2.1	2.1	66.5
	43	31	2.8	2.8	69.3
	44	24	2.1	2.1	71.5
	45	47	4.2	4.2	75.6
	46	18	1.6	1.6	77.3
	47	18	1.6	1.6	78.9
	48	27	2.4	2.4	81.3
	49	22	2.0	2.0	83.2
	50	61	5.4	5.4	88.7
	51	11	1.0	1.0	89.7
	52	15	1.3	1.3	91.0
	53	18	1.6	1.6	92.6
	54	6	.5	.5	93.1
	55	16	1.4	1.4	94.6
	56	6	.5	.5	95.1
	57	5	.4	.4	95.5
	58	10	.9	.9	96.4
	59	5	.4	.4	96.9
	60	12	1.1	1.1	97.9
	61	5	.4	.4	98.4
	62	5	.4	.4	98.8
	63	4	.4	.4	99.2
	64	2	.2	.2	99.4
	65	3	.3	.3	99.6
	68	1	.1	.1	99.7
	70	3	.3	.3	100.0
	Total	1121	100.0	100.0	

Table 4-4i and Figure 4-4i (exhibited in Appendix E) show the age counts in the 1121 cases. The largest group is the age 30 group that has 67 (or 6%) participants. The

second largest group is the age 40 group that has 65 (or 5.8%) participants. The oldest group is age 70 (3 or 0.3% participants) and the youngest one is age 18 (10 or 0.9% participants). Of the 1121 cases, age 18 to 30 consists of 36%, age 31 to 40 of 27.2%, 41 to 50 of 25.5%, 51 to 60 of 9.2%, and 61 and above of 2.1%.

Central Tendency Analysis

Central Tendency Analysis - Age

Exhibited in Appendix F, Figure 4-5 demonstrates the normal curve of age distribution in the 1121 cases - the mean is 372, Standard deviation is 11.11, and is positive skewed.

Table 4-5a

<i>Central Tendency Analysis – Transformational Leadership Questions 1 to 5</i>							
N	Valid	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Average
	Missing	1121	1121	1121	1121	1121	
		0	0	0	0	0	
Mean		3.31	3.20	3.18	3.17	3.28	3.228
Std. Error of Mean		.033	.031	.030	.031	.033	
Median		3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	
Mode		3	3	3	3	3	
Std. Deviation		1.122	1.032	1.018	1.032	1.091	
Variance		1.258	1.064	1.037	1.065	1.190	
Range		4	4	4	4	4	
Minimum		1	1	1	1	1	
Maximum		5	5	5	5	5	

Table 4-5a confirms that the 5 questions in the Charisma category all have an acceptable Standard Error of Mean ranging from 0.030 to 0.033, which indicates that the sampling error is very low.

Also, the Standard Deviation ranging from 1.018 to 1.122 means that the questions were proper and that the responses to questions were considered modest instead

of extreme and toward positive acknowledgement on the leader's transformational leadership performance.

Since the Standard Deviation is more commonly used for measuring the variability, the discussion of Variance is therefore omitted for all transformational leadership questions.

Table 4-5b

Central Tendency Analysis – – Transformational Leadership Questions 6 to 10

		Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Average
N	Valid	1121	1121	1121	1121	1121	
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	
Mean		3.20	3.26	3.25	3.27	3.26	3.248
Std. Error of Mean		.032	.032	.031	.031	.032	
Median		3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	
Mode		3	3	3	3	3	
Std. Deviation		1.065	1.059	1.053	1.036	1.059	
Variance		1.134	1.122	1.109	1.074	1.122	
Range		4	4	4	4	4	
Minimum		1	1	1	1	1	
Maximum		5	5	5	5	5	

Table 4-5b affirms that the 5 questions in the Inspirational Motivation category had a better sounding Standard Error of Mean (ranging from 0.031 to 0.032) and Standard Deviation (ranging from 1.053 to 1.059) than those questions in the Charisma category had.

Table 4-5c

Central Tendency Analysis - – Transformational Leadership Questions 11 to 15

		Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Average
N	Valid	1121	1121	1121	1121	1121	
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	
Mean		3.07	3.14	3.16	3.17	3.18	3.144
Std. Error of Mean		.032	.031	.033	.032	.033	
Median		3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	
Mode		3	3	3	3	3	
Std. Deviation		1.059	1.027	1.105	1.057	1.113	

Table 4-5c (continued)

Central Tendency Analysis - – Transformational Leadership Questions 11 to 15

		Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Average
N	Valid	1121	1121	1121	1121	1121	
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	
Variance		1.122	1.055	1.220	1.117	1.238	
Range		4	4	4	4	4	
Minimum		1	1	1	1	1	
Maximum		5	5	5	5	5	

Table 4-5c assures that the 5 questions in the Intellectual Stimulation category had a reasonable Standard Error of Mean (ranging from 0.031 to 0.033) and Standard Deviation (ranging from 1.027 to 1.113)

Table 4-5d

Central Tendency Analysis - – Transformational Leadership Questions 16 to 20

		Q16	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Average
N	Valid	1121	1121	1121	1121	1121	
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	
Mean		3.22	3.30	3.34	3.10	3.15	3.222
Std. Error of Mean		.032	.033	.031	.033	.032	
Median		3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	
Mode		3	3	3	3	3	
Std. Deviation		1.063	1.104	1.026	1.096	1.085	
Variance		1.131	1.219	1.053	1.201	1.177	
Range		4	4	4	4	4	
Minimum		1	1	1	1	1	
Maximum		5	5	5	5	5	

Shown in Table 4-5d are the Standard Error of Mean (ranging from 0.031 to 0.033) and Standard Deviation (ranging from 1.026 to 1.104) of the 5 questions in the Individualized Consideration category.

Table 4-5e

<i>Central Tendency Analysis - – Transformational Leadership Questions 21 to 25</i>							
		Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25	Average
N	Valid	1121	1121	1121	1121	1121	
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	
Mean		3.18	3.04	3.04	3.21	3.21	3.136
Std. Error of Mean		.032	.032	.032	.032	.033	
Median		3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	
Mode		3	3	3	3	3	
Std. Deviation		1.078	1.087	1.081	1.079	1.120	
Variance		1.162	1.182	1.169	1.164	1.255	
Range		4	4	4	4	4	
Minimum		1	1	1	1	1	
Maximum		5	5	5	5	5	

Shown in Table 4-5e, the Standard Error of Mean and the Standard Deviation for the 5 questions in the Vision category ranged from 0.032 to 0.033 and 1.078 to 1.120, respectively.

Table 4-5f

		<i>Leadership Performance</i>	
N	Valid	1121	
	Missing	0	
Mean		79.91	
Std. Error of Mean		.649	
Median		80.00	
Mode		75	
Std. Deviation		21.728	
Variance		472.087	
Range		100	
Minimum		25	
Maximum		125	

Shown in Table 4-5f are the tendency, measures of variability around the mean, and the measures of deviation from normality of the overall score of transformational leadership performance. It is the sum of all 25 questions in the transformational leadership questionnaire.

As depicted in Table 4-5f, the Mean (79.91) is very close to the Median (80), which implies responses to questions were all modest and less excessive. The Mode of 75 also indicates that the most occurring value was close to the Mean (79.91) and Median (80), and that is a positive sign.

The Standard Error or Mean is 0.649, meaning the sampling error was within an acceptable level. The Standard Deviation of 21.728 indicates that the most of data variability swings within a reasonable range between 58.182 and 101.638.

Relational Analyses

In the following paragraphs, the association between two discrete variables, the relationship between one discrete variables and one continuous variable, and the relationship between two continuous variables are extended as follows.

Cross-tabulation Analysis and Chi-Square Test

The cross-tabulation analysis and the chi-square test were used to analyze the association between two discrete variables. The findings and discussion are extended as follows.

Table 4-6a

*Follower's Political Stance * Leader's Political Stance Cross-tabulation*

			Leader's Political Stance		
			Leader Has Same Political Stance	Leader Has Different Political Stance	Leader Has Unsure Political Stance
Follower's Political Stance	Pan Green	Count	114	84	95
		% within Leader's Political Stance	37.6%	33.5%	16.8%
	Pan Blue	Count	141	68	93
		% within Leader's Political Stance	46.5%	27.1%	16.4%

Table 4-6a (continued)

*Follower's Political Stance * Leader's Political Stance Cross-tabulation*

			Leader's Political Stance		
			Leader Has Same Political Stance	Leader Has Different Political Stance	Leader Has Unsure Political Stance
Follower's Political Stance	Other Political Stance	Count	14	42	121
		% within Leader's Political Stance	4.6%	16.7%	21.3%
	Unsure Political Stance	Count	34	57	258
		% within Leader's Political Stance	11.2%	22.7%	45.5%

Table 4-6b

*Follower's Political Stance * Leader's Political Stance Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	223.166(a)	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	236.529	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	169.256	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 39.63.

Table 4-6c

*Follower's Political Stance * Leader's Political Stance Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.446	.000
	Cramer's V	.315	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-6a, 4-6b, and 4-6c and Figure 4-6 (exhibited in Appendix F), at significance level of 0.000 in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.446 Phi value represents that the association was weak between the follower's political stance and the leader's political stance.

Also noteworthy are:

- From the perspective of leader's political stance, those cases who were not sure of their own political stance comprised the largest group (45.5%) that did not know their leader's political stance.
- The pan-blue fellows were the majority (46.5%) of those who believed their leader had the same political stance (pan-blue) as theirs, while the pan-green folks seconds (27.6%).
- In believing that their leader had a different political stance from theirs, the pan-green folks were the majority (33.5%) while pan-blue follows the second (27.1%).
- This phenomenon coincides with the fact that in Taiwan the majority of supervisory positions in public and private sectors were still occupied by pan-blue supporters.

Table 4-7a

*Follower's Political Stance * Follower's National Identity Cross-tabulation*

		Follower's National Identity					
			Keep Status Quo	Pro- independence	Pro- unity	Other National Identity	Unsure National Identity
Follower's Political Stance	Pan Green	Count	100	173	8	4	8
		% within Follower's National Identity	17.8%	62.9%	11.8 %	4.1%	6.7%
	Pan Blue	Count	196	19	39	23	25
		% within Follower's National Identity	34.9%	6.9%	57.4 %	23.7%	21.0%
	Other Political Stance	Count	82	26	11	31	27
		% within Follower's National Identity	14.6%	9.5%	16.2 %	32.0%	22.7%

Table 4-7a (continued)

*Follower's Political Stance * Follower's National Identity Cross-tabulation*

		Follower's National Identity				
		Keep Status Quo	Pro- independence	Pro- unity	Other National Identity	Unsure National Identity
Follower's Political Stance	Unsure Political Stance	Count 184	57	10	39	59
		% within Follower's National Identity	32.7%	20.7%	14.7 %	40.2% 49.6%

Table 4-7b

*Follower's Political Stance * Follower's National Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	335.777(a)	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	324.056	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	24.001	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.74.

Table 4-7c

*Follower's Political Stance * Follower's National Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.547	.000
	Cramer's V	.316	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-7a, 4-7b, and 4-7c and Figure 4-7 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.547 Phi value represents that there was a strong association between the follower's political stance and the followers' national identity.

The noteworthy in facts include:

- From the perspective of follower's national identity, the pan-green fellows were the largest group (62.9%) of pro Taiwan independence. In contrast, pan-blue group was the smallest group (6.9%) in favor of Taiwan independence.
- In favor of unification with China, pan-blue fellows held the strongest stand (57.4%) while pan-green group was the least (11.8%).
- Furthermore, the cases who were not sure of their own political stance also were the majority (49.6%) who are not sure of their own national identity.

Table 4-8a

*Follower's Political Stance * Leader's National Identity Cross-tabulation*

			Leader's National Identity		
			Leader Has Same National Identity	Leader Has Different National Identity	Leader Has Unsure National Identity
Follower's Political Stance	Pan Green	Count	112	66	115
		% within Leader's National Identity	33.0%	34.6%	19.5%
	Pan Blue	Count	136	56	110
		% within Leader's National Identity	40.1%	29.3%	18.6%
	Other Political Stance	Count	33	28	116
		% within Leader's National Identity	9.7%	14.7%	19.6%
	Unsure Political Stance	Count	58	41	250
		% within Leader's National Identity	17.1%	21.5%	42.3%

Table 4-8b

*Follower's Political Stance * Leader's National Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	123.273(a)	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	125.652	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	91.025	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 30.16.

Table 4-8c

*Follower's Political Stance * Leader's National Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.332	.000
	Cramer's V	.234	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-8a, 4-8b, and 4-8c and Figure 4-8 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.332 Phi value represents that the association was weak between the follower's political stance and the their leader's national identity.

Noteworthy facts include:

- From the perspective of leader's national identity, those cases not sure of their own political stance contributed 42.3% of those who were not sure of their leader's national identity.
- The pan-blue fellows held the strongest stand (62.9%) on knowing their leader's national identity while the pan-green fellows next (33%).
- In contrast, pan-green fellows (34.6%) were the majority claiming their leader had a different national identity while pan-blue folks ranked the second (29.3%).
- The two factors could be attributed to the fact that in Taiwan the majority of supervisor posts in public and private sectors were still occupied by pan-blue supporters.

Table 4-9a

*Follower's Political Stance * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation*

			Follower's Ethnic Identity					
			Native Taiwanese	Mainlander	Hakka	Aboriginals	Other Ethnic Identity	Unsure Ethnic Identity
Follower's Political Stance	Pan Green	Count	262	5	13	2	3	8
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	33.6%	4.6%	15.9%	15.4%	5.4%	9.6%
	Pan Blue	Count	169	65	35	3	14	16
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	21.7%	60.2%	42.7%	23.1%	25.0%	19.3%
	Other Political Stance	Count	113	14	10	5	26	9
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	14.5%	13.0%	12.2%	38.5%	46.4%	10.8%
	Unsure Political Stance	Count	235	24	24	3	13	50
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	30.2%	22.2%	29.3%	23.1%	23.2%	60.2%

Table 4-9b

*Follower's Political Stance * Follower's Ethnic Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	187.324(a)	15	.000
Likelihood Ratio	174.987	15	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	38.393	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 4 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.05.

Table 4-9c

*Follower's Political Stance * Follower's Ethnic Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.409	.000
	Cramer's V	.236	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-9a, 4-9b, and 4-9c and Figure 4-9 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.409 Phi value represents that the association was weak between the follower's political stance and their own ethnicity.

Noteworthy facts include:

- From the perspective of follower's ethnicity, those cases who were not sure of their political stance were the majority (60.2%) of those who were not sure of their own ethnicity.
- The largest group claiming they were Native Taiwanese was the pan-green fellows (33.6%) while those not sure of their own (30.2%) national identity occupied the second place and pan-blue the third (21.7%).
- The majority of those who claimed they were mainlanders were the pan-blue fellows (60.2%) while the pan-green folks contributed the least percentage (4.6%).

- 42.7% of Hakka were pan-blue that could be attributed to the fact that Hakka was an ethnic group that migrated from mainland China to Taiwan in the 18 century.
- Also noted that 15.4% of aborigines claimed they were pan-green while 23.1% were pan-blue. This fact coincides to the fact that aborigines and Hakka were always the KMT supports in the past elections.

Table 4-10a

*Follower's Political Stance * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation*

			Leader's Ethnic Identity		
			Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity
Follower's Political Stance	Pan Green	Count	139	68	86
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	32.0%	26.9%	19.8%
	Pan Blue	Count	134	89	79
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	30.9%	35.2%	18.2%
	Other Political Stance	Count	55	31	91
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	12.7%	12.3%	21.0%
	Unsure Political Stance	Count	106	65	178
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	24.4%	25.7%	41.0%

Table 4-10b

*Follower's Political Stance * Leader's Ethnic Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	67.951(a)	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	68.175	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	44.794	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 39.95.

Table 4-10c

*Follower's Political Stance * Leader's Ethnic Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.246	.000
	Cramer's V	.174	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-10a, 4-10b, and 4-10c and Figure 4-10 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.246 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the follower's political stance and their leader's ethnicity.

However, noteworthy facts include:

- From the perspective of leader's ethnicity, those cases who were not sure of their political stance were also the majority (41%) of those who were not sure of their leader's ethnicity.
- The largest group claiming their leader had a same ethnicity was the pan-green fellows (32%) while pan-blue (30.9%) ranked the second.
- The largest group claiming their leader has a different ethnicity was the pan-blue folks (35.2%) followed by the pan-green folks (26.9%).

Table 4-11a

*Follower's Political Stance * Region Cross-tabulation*

			Region			
			North	East	Central	South
Follower's Political Stance	Pan Green	Count	81	24	69	119
		% within Region	27.4%	25.0%	25.1%	26.2%
	Pan Blue	Count	79	39	83	101
		% within Region	26.7%	40.6%	30.2%	22.2%
	Other Political Stance	Count	39	13	47	78
		% within Region	13.2%	13.5%	17.1%	17.2%
	Unsure Political Stance	Count	97	20	76	156
		% within Region	32.8%	20.8%	27.6%	34.4%

Table 4-11b

*Follower's Political Stance * Region Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.365(a)	9	.016
Likelihood Ratio	20.145	9	.017
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.504	1	.220
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 15.16.

Table 4-11c

*Follower's Political Stance * Region Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.135	.016
	Cramer's V	.078	.016
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Though the distribution of the survey responses in the four regions in Taiwan were not equal, overall the ratio of Pan Green, Pan Blue, Other Political Stance and Unsure Political Stance in the four regions are approximately equal.

Shown in Tables 4-11a, 4-11b, and 4-11c and Figure 4-11 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.016 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.135 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the follower's political stance and the region.

The following are noteworthy facts:

- Pan-blue supports had the highest percentage in the east and the central regions, 40.6% and 30.2%, respectively.
- Pan-green supports had the highest percentage (26.2%) in the south region.
- In the north region, pan-green and pan-blue supports shared a close percentage – 27.4% (pan-green) versus 26.7% (pan-blue).
- These figures correspond to the facts in Taiwan, that the majority in the South region are pan-green supporters while the majority in the Central and the East regions are pan-blue supporters.

Table 4-12a

*Follower's Political Stance * Gender Cross-tabulation*

			Gender	
			Male	Female
Follower's Political Stance	Pan Green	Count	184	109
		% within Gender	31.8%	20.1%
	Pan Blue	Count	131	171
		% within Gender	22.7%	31.5%
	Other Political Stance	Count	85	92
		% within Gender	14.7%	16.9%
	Unsure Political Stance	Count	178	171
		% within Gender	30.8%	31.5%

Table 4-12b

*Follower's Political Stance * Gender Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.844(a)	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	24.051	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.749	1	.029
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 85.74.

Table 4-12c

*Follower's Political Stance * Gender Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.146	.000
	Cramer's V	.146	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-12a, 4-12b, and 4-12c and Figure 4-12 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.146 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the follower's political stance and the gender.

However, noteworthy findings include:

- Male cases had a higher percentage (31.8%) in favor of being Pan-green supporters than female cases (20.1%).
- In contrast, female cases had a higher percentage (31.5%) than male cases (22.7%) in favor of being Pan-blue supporter. This could imply that fewer female cases exhibited Taiwanese awareness than male cases.

Table 4-13a

*Leader's Political Stance * Follower's National Identity Cross-tabulation*

			Follower's National Identity				
			Keep Status Quo	Pro-independence	Pro-unity	Other National Identity	Unsure National Identity
Leader's Political Stance	Leader	Count	169	86	17	16	15
	Has Same Political Stance	% within Follower's National Identity	30.1%	31.3%	25.0%	16.5%	12.6%
	Leader	Count	110	78	17	24	22
	Has Different Political Stance	% within Follower's National Identity	19.6%	28.4%	25.0%	24.7%	18.5%
	Leader	Count	283	111	34	57	82
	Has Unsure Political Stance	% within Follower's National Identity	50.4%	40.4%	50.0%	58.8%	68.9%

Table 4-13b

*Leader's Political Stance * Follower's National Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	39.504(a)	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	41.616	8	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	19.794	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 15.23.

Table 4-13c

*Leader's Political Stance * Follower's National Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.188	.000
	Cramer's V	.133	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-13a, 4-13b, and 4-13c and Figure 4-13 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.188 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the leader's political stance and the follower's national identity.

However, noteworthy findings include:

- From the perspective of follower's national identity, Leader Has Unsure Political Stance has the highest percentages in all five follower's national identities. The percentages are 50.4% in Keep Status Quo, 40.4% in Pro-independence, 50.0% in Pro-unity, 58.8% in Other National Identity, and 68.9% in Unsure National Identity. This would imply that the majority of cases are not sure of their leader's political stance.
- Also, 30.1% of those cases who preferred Keep Status Quo believed their leader has a same political stance. This 30.1% figure is higher than the 19.6% (cases

who preferred Keep Status Quo) who thought their leader has a different political stance from theirs.

- In the Pro-independence folks, the percentage of whether believing their leader has a same political stance are approximately equal – 31.3% versus 28.4%.
- In the Pro-unity folks, the percentage of cases of whether believing their leader has a same political stance are equal - 25% versus 25%.

Table 4-14a

*Leader's Political Stance * Leader's National Identity Cross-tabulation*

		Leader's National Identity		
		Leader Has Same National Identity	Leader Has Different National Identity	Leader Has Unsure National Identity
Leader's Political Stance	Leader Has Same Political Stance	Count 240	21	42
		% within Leader's National Identity 70.8%	11.0%	7.1%
	Leader Has Different Political Stance	Count 35	143	73
		% within Leader's National Identity 10.3%	74.9%	12.4%
	Leader Has Unsure Political Stance	Count 64	27	476
		% within Leader's National Identity 18.9%	14.1%	80.5%

Table 4-14b

*Leader's Political Stance * Leader's National Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	851.167(a)	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	764.287	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	481.357	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 42.77.

Table 4-14c

*Leader's Political Stance * Leader's National Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.871	.000
	Cramer's V	.616	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-14a, 4-14b, and 4-14c and Figure 4-14 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.871 Phi value indicates that the association was strong between the leader's political stance and the leader's national identity.

Notable results here include:

- From the perspective of leader's national identity, the majority (70.8%) of those cases who believed their leader has a same national identity also tend to believe their leader has the same political stance as theirs. This is demonstrated by 70.8% versus 10.3%.
- Likewise, the majority (74.9%) of those cases who believed their leader has a different national identity also tend to believe their leader has a different political stance from theirs. This is demonstrated by 74.9% versus 11%.
- Similarly, the majority (80.5%) of those cases who were not sure of their leader's national identity also were not sure of their leader's political stance.

Table 4-15a

*Leader's Political Stance * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation*

Leader's Political Stance	Leader Has		Follower's Ethnic Identity					
			Native Taiwanese	Mainlander	Hakka	Aboriginals	Other Ethnic Identity	Unsure Ethnic Identity
	Same Political Stance	Count	224	38	22	2	7	10
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	28.8%	35.2%	26.8%	15.4%	12.5%	12.0%
	Different Political Stance	Count	174	26	24	6	6	15
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	22.3%	24.1%	29.3%	46.2%	10.7%	18.1%
	Unsure Political Stance	Count	381	44	36	5	43	58
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	48.9%	40.7%	43.9%	38.5%	76.8%	69.9%

Table 4-15b

*Leader's Political Stance * Follower's Ethnic Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	41.997(a)	10	.000
Likelihood Ratio	43.239	10	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	21.070	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a. 2 cells (11.1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.91.

Table 4-15c

*Leader's Political Stance * Follower's Ethnic Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.194	.000
	Cramer's V	.137	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-15a, 4-15b, and 4-15c and Figure 4-15 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.194 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the leader's political stance and the follower's ethnicity.

Notable results here include:

- From the perspective of follower's ethnicity, Leader Has Unsure Political Stance has the largest percentages in all aspects of follower's ethnicity (48.9% in Native Taiwanese, 40.7% in Mainlander, 43.9% in Hakka, 38.5% in Aborigines, 76.8% in Other Ethnic Identity, and 69.9% in Unsure Ethnic Identity).
- In the Native Taiwanese and the Mainlander ethnicity groups, the percentage of cases believing their leader has a same political stance is higher than the

percentage of cases believing their leader has a different political stance (28.8% versus 22.3% in Native Taiwanese, and 35.2% versus 24.1% in Mainlander).

- In contrast, Hakka ethnic group has an opposite phenomena - the percentage of cases believing their leader has a same political stance is lower than the percentage of cases believing their leader has a different political stance (26.8% versus 29.3%).
- The number of Aborigines cases is too low; the discussion is thus omitted.

Table 4-16a

*Leader's Political Stance * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation*

			Leader's Ethnic Identity		
			Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity
Leader's Political Stance	Leader Has Same Political Stance	Count	204	66	33
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	47.0%	26.1%	7.6%
	Leader Has Different Political Stance	Count	77	115	59
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	17.7%	45.5%	13.6%
	Leader Has Unsure Political Stance	Count	153	72	342
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	35.3%	28.5%	78.8%

Table 4-16b

*Leader's Political Stance * Leader's Ethnic Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	317.008(a)	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	315.495	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	207.007	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 56.65.

Table 4-16c

*Leader's Political Stance * Leader's Ethnic Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.532	.000
	Cramer's V	.376	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-16a, 4-16b, and 4-16c and Figure 4-16 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.532 Phi value indicates that the association was strong between the leader's political stance and the leader's ethnicity.

Notable facts here include:

- From the perspective of leader's ethnicity, cases who believed that they and their leader belong to the same ethnicity group tend to believe that they and their leader have the same political stance. This is demonstrated by 47% versus 17.7% (those who believed that they and their leader are in the same ethnicity group but believed they and their leader have a different political stance).
- Similarly, the cases who believed that they and their leader are belong to different ethnicity groups tend to believe that they and their leader have different political stance. This is demonstrated by 45.5% versus 26.1% (those who believed that they and their leader belong to different ethnicity groups but believed they and their leader share the same political stance).

Table 4-17a

*Leader's Political Stance * Region Cross-tabulation*

			Region			
			North	East	Central	South
Leader's Political Stance	Leader Has Same Political Stance	Count	88	26	79	110
		% within Region	29.7%	27.1%	28.7%	24.2%
	Leader Has Different Political Stance	Count	65	31	72	83
		% within Region	22.0%	32.3%	26.2%	18.3%
	Leader Has Unsure Political Stance	Count	143	39	124	261
		% within Region	48.3%	40.6%	45.1%	57.5%

Table 4-17b

*Leader's Political Stance * Region Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.930(a)	6	.003
Likelihood Ratio	19.597	6	.003
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.683	1	.017
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 21.50.

Table 4-17c

*Leader's Political Stance * Region Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.133	.003
	Cramer's V	.094	.003
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-17a, 4-17b, and 4-17c and Figure 4-17 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.003 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.133 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the leader's political stance and the region.

The following are notable findings:

- Leader Has Unsure Political Stance has the largest percentages in all four regions (48.3% in the north region, 40.6% in the east region, 45.1% in the central region, and 57.6% in the south region).
- Except the east region, all other 3 regions have a higher percentage of Leader Has Same Political Stance than Leader Has Different Political Stance (29.7% versus 22% in the north region, 28.7% versus 26.2% in the central region, and 24.2% versus 18.3% in the south region).
- In contrast, the east region has a lower percentage of Leader Has Same Political Stance than the percentage of Leader Has Different Political Stance (27.1% versus 32.3%).

Table 4-18a

*Leader's Political Stance * Gender Cross-tabulation*

			Gender	
			Male	Female
Leader's Political Stance	Leader Has Same Political Stance	Count	166	137
		% within Gender	28.7%	25.2%
	Leader Has Different Political Stance	Count	136	115
		% within Gender	23.5%	21.2%
	Leader Has Unsure Political Stance	Count	276	291
		% within Gender	47.8%	53.6%

Table 4-18b

*Leader's Political Stance * Gender Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.840(a)	2	.147
Likelihood Ratio	3.843	2	.146
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.379	1	.066
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 121.58.

Table 4-18c

*Leader's Political Stance * Gender Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.059	.147
	Cramer's V	.059	.147
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-18a, 4-18b, and 4-18c and Figure 4-18 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.147 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the discussion of the association between the leader's political stance and the gender is omitted since there is no statistical significance.

Table 4-19a

*Follower's National Identity * Leader's National Identity Cross-tabulation*

			Leader's National Identity		
			Leader Has Same National Identity	Leader Has Different National Identity	Leader Has Unsure National Identity
Follower's National Identity	Keep Status Quo	Count	203	76	283
		% within Leader's National Identity	59.9%	39.8%	47.9%
	Pro-independence	Count	90	61	124
		% within Leader's National Identity	26.5%	31.9%	21.0%
	Pro-unity	Count	17	14	37
		% within Leader's National Identity	5.0%	7.3%	6.3%
	Other National Identity	Count	14	24	59
		% within Leader's National Identity	4.1%	12.6%	10.0%

Table 4-19a (continued)

*Follower's National Identity * Leader's National Identity Cross-tabulation*

		Leader's National Identity		
Follower's National Identity	Unsure National Identity	Count	Leader Has Same National Identity	Leader Has Different National Identity
			Leader Has Unsure National Identity	
		15	16	88
		% within Leader's National Identity	4.4%	8.4%
				14.9%

Table 4-19b

*Follower's National Identity * Leader's National Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	56.039(a)	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	59.632	8	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	34.293	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.59.

Table 4-19c

*Follower's National Identity * Leader's National Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.224	.000
	Cramer's V	.158	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-19a, 4-19b, and 4-19c and Figure 4-19 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.224 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the follower's national identity and the leader's national identity.

Notable results here include:

- From the perspective of leader's national identity, Keep Status Quo has the largest percentages in all three Leader's National Identity (59.9% in Leader Has Same National Identity, 39.8% in Leader Has Different National Identity, and 47.9% in Leader Has Unsure National identity). This could be interpreted as the majority of cases would like to keep the status quo of Taiwan's sovereignty status.
- Next to Keep Status Quo is the Pro-independence that has 26.5% in Leader Has Same National Identity, 31.9% in Leader Has Different National Identity, and 21.0% in Leader Has Unsure National identity. This would mean the Pro-independence is the 2nd choice for the Taiwan's sovereignty status.
- Pro-unity only has 5% in Leader Has Same National Identity, 7.3% in Leader Has Different National Identity, and 6.3% in Leader Has Unsure National Identity. Since the number is far below Pro-independence, Pro-unity might not appear to the cases as a serious option from the perspective of leader's national identity.

Table 4-20a

*Follower's National Identity * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation*

			Follower's Ethnic Identity					
			Native Taiwanese	Mainlander	Hakka	Aboriginals	Other Ethnic Identity	Unsure Ethnic Identity
Follower's National Identity	Keep Status Quo	Count	389	64	43	4	27	35
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	49.9%	59.3%	52.4%	30.8%	48.2%	42.2%
	Pro-independence	Count	235	7	16	4	3	10
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	30.2%	6.5%	19.5%	30.8%	5.4%	12.0%
	Pro-unity	Count	36	18	6	1	2	5
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	4.6%	16.7%	7.3%	7.7%	3.6%	6.0%
	Other National Identity	Count	49	7	7	3	20	11
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	6.3%	6.5%	8.5%	23.1%	35.7%	13.3%
	Unsure National Identity	Count	70	12	10	1	4	22
		% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	9.0%	11.1%	12.2%	7.7%	7.1%	26.5%

Table 4-20b

*Follower's National Identity * Follower's Ethnic Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	147.438(a)	20	.000
Likelihood Ratio	124.559	20	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	29.375	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 7 cells (23.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .79.

Table 4-20c

*Follower's National Identity * Follower's Ethnic Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.363	.000
	Cramer's V	.181	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-20a, 4-20b, and 4-20c and Figure 4-20 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.363 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the follower's national identity and the follower's ethnicity.

The notable findings here include:

- From the perspective of follower's ethnicity, Keep Status Quo is the first choice for all cases in all six ethnic groups, since it has 49.9% in Native Taiwanese, 59.3% in Mainlander, 52.4 % in Hakka, 30.8% in Aborigines, 48.2% in Other Ethnic Identity, and 42.2% in Unsure Ethnic Identity.
- Pro-independence is the second choice for all cases in all ethnicities, since it reaches 30.2% in Native Taiwanese, 6.5% in Mainlander, 19.5% in Hakka, 30.8% in Aborigines, 5.4% in Other Ethnic Identity, and 12% in Unsure Ethnic Identity.

Note that only 6.5% of Mainlanders choose pro Taiwan independence. This is understandable because the nature of Mainlander is pro unity with China.

- Pro-unity only gains 4.6% in Native Taiwanese, 16.7% in Mainlander, 7.3% in Hakka, 7.7% in Aborigines, 3.6% in Other Ethnic Identity, and 6% in Unsure Ethnic Identity. This further proves that Pro-unity would not be a popular choice to all cases from the perspective of follower's ethnicity.

Table 4-21a

*Follower's National Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation*

			Leader's Ethnic Identity		
			Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity
Follower's National Identity	Keep Status Quo	Count	233	120	209
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	53.7%	47.4%	48.2%
	Pro- independence	Count	124	62	89
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	28.6%	24.5%	20.5%
	Pro-unity	Count	25	18	25
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	5.8%	7.1%	5.8%
	Other National Identity	Count	22	28	47
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	5.1%	11.1%	10.8%
	Unsure National Identity	Count	30	25	64
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	6.9%	9.9%	14.7%

Table 4-21b

*Follower's National Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	31.379(a)	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	32.226	8	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	19.160	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 15.35.

Table 4-21c

*Follower's National Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Symmetric Measures*

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.167	.000
Cramer's V	.118	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-21a, 4-21b, and 4-21c and Figure 4-21 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.167 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the follower's national identity and the leader's ethnic identity.

Notable findings here include:

- From the perspective of leader's ethnicity, Keep Status Quo appears to be the first choice for all cases in regard to their leader's ethnicity, since it reaches 53.7% in those who believed their leader has a same ethnicity, 47.4% in those who believed their leader has a different ethnicity, and 48.2% in those who were not sure of their leader's ethnicity.
- Pro-independence is the second choice for all cases in regard to their leader's ethnicity. It reaches 28.6% in those who believed their leader has a same

ethnicity, 24.5% in those who believed their leader has a different ethnicity, and 20.5% in those who were not sure of their leader's ethnicity.

- Pro-unity gains 5.8% in those who believed they and their leader has a same ethnicity, 7.1% in those who believed that they and their leader have different ethnicities, and 5.8% in those who were not sure of their leader's ethnicity. These figures prove again that pro-unity is not a favorite choice to all cases from the perspective of leader's ethnicity.

Table 4-22a

*Follower's National Identity * Region Cross-tabulation*

			Region			
			North	East	Central	South
Follower's National Identity	Keep Status Quo	Count	151	35	155	221
		% within Region	51.0%	36.5%	56.4%	48.7%
	Pro-independence	Count	59	17	70	129
		% within Region	19.9%	17.7%	25.5%	28.4%
	Pro-unity	Count	21	7	17	23
		% within Region	7.1%	7.3%	6.2%	5.1%
	Other National Identity	Count	28	21	17	31
		% within Region	9.5%	21.9%	6.2%	6.8%
	Unsure National Identity	Count	37	16	16	50
		% within Region	12.5%	16.7%	5.8%	11.0%

Table 4-22b

*Follower's National Identity * Region Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	48.352(a)	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	44.039	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.862	1	.049
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.82.

Table 4-22c

*Follower's National Identity * Region Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.208	.000
	Cramer's V	.120	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-22a, 4-22b, and 4-22c and Figure 4-22 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.208 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the follower's national identity and the regions.

Notable findings here include:

- Keep Status Quo is the first choice for all cases in all regions since it has 51.0% in the north region, 36.5% in the east region, 56.4% in the central region, and 48.7% in the south region.
- Pro-independence is the second choice for all cases in all regions. It has 19.9% in the north region, 17.7% in the east region, 25.5% in the central region, and 28.4% in the south region.
- Pro-unity gains 7.1% in the north region, 7.3% in the east region, 6.2% in the central region, and 5.1% in the south region. These figures prove again that pro-unity is not a favorite choice to all cases from the region perspective.

Table 4-23a

*Follower's National Identity * Gender Cross-tabulation*

		Gender	
		Male	Female
Follower's National Identity	Keep Status Quo	Count	268
		% within Gender	54.1%
	Pro-independence	Count	112
		% within Gender	20.6%
	Pro-unity	Count	30
		% within Gender	5.5%
	Other National Identity	Count	49
		% within Gender	9.0%
	Unsure National Identity	Count	58
		% within Gender	10.7%

Table 4-23b

*Follower's National Identity * Gender Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.606(a)	4	.031
Likelihood Ratio	10.653	4	.031
Linear-by-Linear Association	.737	1	.390
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 32.94.

Table 4-23c

*Follower's National Identity * Gender Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.097	.031
	Cramer's V	.097	.031
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-23a, 4-23b, and 4-23c and Figure 4-23 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.031 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.097 Phi value indicates that the association was very weak between the follower's national identity and the gender.

Notable results here include:

- Keep Status Quo is the first choice for all cases in both genders. However, female cases have a higher percentage (54.1%) than male cases (46.4%) in favor of Keep Status Quo.
- Pro-independence is the second choice for all cases in both genders. Nonetheless, male cases have a higher percentage (28.2%) than female cases (20.6%) in favor of pro Taiwan independence.
- Pro-unity takes the last seat - only gains 6.6% in male cases and 5.6% in female cases.

Table 4-24a

*Leader's National Identity * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation*

		Follower's Ethnic Identity					
		Native Taiwanese	Mainlander	Hakka	Aboriginal	Other Ethnic Identity	Unsure Ethnic Identity
Leader Has Same National Identity	Count	249	35	24	3	12	16
	% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	32.0%	32.4%	29.3%	23.1%	21.4%	19.3%
Leader Has Different National Identity	Count	138	25	17	4	4	3
	% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	17.7%	23.1%	20.7%	30.8%	7.1%	3.6%
Leader Has Unsure National Identity	Count	392	48	41	6	40	64
	% within Follower's Ethnic Identity	50.3%	44.4%	50.0%	46.2%	71.4%	77.1%

Table 4-24b

*Leader's National Identity * Follower's Ethnic Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	38.140(a)	10	.000
Likelihood Ratio	41.887	10	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	17.832	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 2 cells (11.1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.21.

Table 4-24c

*Leader's National Identity * Follower's Ethnic Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.184	.000
	Cramer's V	.130	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-24a, 4-24b, and 4-24c and Figure 4-24 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.184 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the leader's national identity and the follower's ethnicity.

Notable results here include:

- In all aspects of followers' ethnicity, most cases were not sure of their leader's national identity. It reaches 50.3% in Native Taiwanese, 44.4% in Mainlanders, 50% in Hakka, 46.2% in Aborigines, 71.4% in those who claimed they have another ethnicity, and 77.1% in those who were not sure of their ethnicity.
- Leader Has Same National Identity seconds in all cases' ethnicities, except in the Aborigines. Thirty two percent of Native Taiwanese believed their leader has the same national identity as theirs, while 32.4% in Mainlander, 29.3% in Hakka, 21.4% in Other Ethnic identity, and 19.3% in Unsure Ethnic Identity.

Controversially, only 23.1% of Aborigines claimed their leader has a same national identity while 30.8% of Aborigines claimed their leader has a different national identity.

- Leader Has Different National Identity takes the last seat in all ethnic groups, except Aborigines. A 17.7% of Native Taiwanese believed their leader has a different national identity than theirs, while 23.1% in Mainlander, 20.7% in Hakka, 7.1% in Other Ethnic identity, and 3.6% in Unsure Ethnic Identity.

Table 4-25a

*Leader's National Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation*

			Leader's Ethnic Identity		
			Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity
Leader's National Identity	Leader Has Same National Identity	Count	225	71	43
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	51.8%	28.1%	9.9%
	Leader Has Different National Identity	Count	53	100	38
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	12.2%	39.5%	8.8%
	Leader Has Unsure National Identity	Count	156	82	353
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	35.9%	32.4%	81.3%

Table 4-25b

*Leader's National Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	335.570(a)	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	325.202	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	212.221	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 43.11.

Table 4-25c

*Leader's National Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.547	.000
	Cramer's V	.387	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-25a, 4-25b, and 4-25c and Figure 4-25 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.547 Phi value indicates that the association was strong between the leader's national identity and the leader's ethnicity.

Notable results here include:

- From the perspective of leader's ethnicity, those cases who believed their leader has same ethnicity tend to believe their leader has a same national identity. This is demonstrated by 51.8% versus 12.2% (cases who believed their leader has same ethnicity but believed their leader has a different national identity).
- Similarly, cases who believed their leader has a different ethnicity tend to believe their leader has a different national identity. This is demonstrated by 39.5% versus 28.1% (cases who believed their leader has a different ethnicity but believed their leader has a same national identity).
- Also, cases who did not know their leader's ethnicity also tend to show uncertainty about their leader's national identity, and the percentage reaches 81.3%.

Table 4-26a

*Leader's National Identity * Region Cross-tabulation*

			Region			
			North	East	Central	South
Leader's National Identity	Leader Has Same National Identity	Count	94	28	84	133
		% within Region	31.8%	29.2%	30.5%	29.3%
	Leader Has Different National Identity	Count	59	26	47	59
		% within Region	19.9%	27.1%	17.1%	13.0%
	Leader Has Unsure National Identity	Count	143	42	144	262
		% within Region	48.3%	43.8%	52.4%	57.7%

Table 4-26b

*Leader's National Identity * Region Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.607(a)	6	.011
Likelihood Ratio	16.107	6	.013
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.687	1	.055
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 16.36.

Table 4-26c

*Leader's National Identity * Region Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.122	.011
	Cramer's V	.086	.011
N of Valid Cases		1121	

- a Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-26a, 4-26b, and 4-26c and Figure 4-26 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.011 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.122 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the leader's national identity and the region.

Notable results here include that:

- In all regions, most of cases claimed they were not sure of their leader's national identity. The percentages reach 48.3% in the north region, 43.8% in the east region, 52.4% in the central region, and 57.7% in the south region.
- Leader Has Same National Identity ranks second in all four regions. It has 31.8% in the north region, 29.2% in the east region, 30.5% in the central region, and 29.3% in the south region.
- Leader Has Different National Identity tails, and the percentages are 19.9% in the north region, 27.1% in the east region, 17.1% in the central region, and 13% in the south region.

Table 4-27a

Leader's National Identity * Gender Cross-tabulation

			Gender	
			Male	Female
Leader's National Identity	Leader Has Same National Identity	Count	191	148
		% within Gender	33.0%	27.3%
	Leader Has Different National Identity	Count	106	85
		% within Gender	18.3%	15.7%
	Leader Has Unsure National Identity	Count	281	310
		% within Gender	48.6%	57.1%

Table 4-27b

Leader's National Identity * Gender Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.101(a)	2	.017
Likelihood Ratio	8.113	2	.017
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.305	1	.007
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 92.52.

Table 4-27c

*Leader's National Identity * Gender Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.085	.017
	Cramer's V	.085	.017
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-27a, 4-27b, and 4-27c and Figure 4-27 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.017 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.085 Phi value indicates that the association was very weak between the leader's national identity and the gender.

Notable results here include:

- Female cases have a higher percentage (57.1%) than male cases (48.6%) on not knowing their leader's national identity.
- In contrast, male cases were more assertive on guessing their leader's national identity. A 33% of male cases believed their leaders have a same national identity while only 27.3% in female cases.
- Similarly, 18.3% of male cases believed their leaders have a different national identity while 15.7% in female cases.

Table 4-28a

*Follower's Ethnic Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation*

			Leader's Ethnic Identity		
			Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity
Follower's Ethnic Identity	Native Taiwanese	Count	372	139	268
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	85.7%	54.9%	61.8%
	Mainlander	Count	30	45	33
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	6.9%	17.8%	7.6%

Table 4-28a (continued)

*Follower's Ethnic Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation*

			Leader's Ethnic Identity		
			Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity
Follower's Ethnic Identity	Hakka	Count	13	42	27
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	3.0%	16.6%	6.2%
	Aboriginals	Count	0	12	1
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	.0%	4.7%	.2%
	Other Ethnic Identity	Count	8	6	42
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	1.8%	2.4%	9.7%
	Unsure Ethnic Identity	Count	11	9	63
		% within Leader's Ethnic Identity	2.5%	3.6%	14.5%

Table 4-28b

*Follower's Ethnic Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	208.184(a)	10	.000
Likelihood Ratio	193.283	10	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	87.748	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 1 cells (5.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.93.

Table 4-28c

*Follower's Ethnic Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.431	.000
	Cramer's V	.305	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-28a, 4-28b, and 4-28c and Figure 4-28 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.431 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the follower's ethnicity and the leader's ethnicity.

Notable results here include:

- From the perspective of leader's ethnicity, 85.7% of cases who believed their leader has a same ethnicity are Native Taiwanese. This could be contributed to that the Native Taiwanese is the majority in the cases.
- Likewise, 54.9% for those cases who believed their leader has a different ethnicity are Native Taiwanese too, and 61.8% for those cases who were not sure their leader's ethnicity are Native Taiwanese again.
- Because Mainlander and Hakka are the minority groups, only 6.9% and 3.0% of those cases who believed their leader has a same ethnicity are Mainlanders and Hakka, respectively.
- The number of Aboriginal cases is too small. The discussion is thus omitted.

Table 4-29a

*Follower's Ethnic Identity * Region Cross-tabulation*

			Region			
			North	East	Central	South
Follower's Ethnic Identity	Native Taiwanese	Count	203	59	178	339
		% within Region	68.6%	61.5%	64.7%	74.7%
	Mainlander	Count	35	16	28	29
		% within Region	11.8%	16.7%	10.2%	6.4%
	Hakka	Count	23	10	25	24
		% within Region	7.8%	10.4%	9.1%	5.3%
	Aboriginals	Count	4	3	4	2
		% within Region	1.4%	3.1%	1.5%	.4%
	Other Ethnic Identity	Count	9	3	21	23
		% within Region	3.0%	3.1%	7.6%	5.1%
	Unsure Ethnic Identity	Count	22	5	19	37
		% within Region	7.4%	5.2%	6.9%	8.1%

Table 4-29b

*Follower's Ethnic Identity * Region Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	33.477(a)	15	.004
Likelihood Ratio	32.807	15	.005
Linear-by-Linear Association	.001	1	.979
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 4 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.11.

Table 4-29c

*Follower's Ethnic Identity * Region Symmetric Measures*

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.173	.004
Cramer's V	.100	.004
N of Valid Cases	1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-29a, 4-29b, and 4-29c and Figure 4-29 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.004 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.173 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the follower's ethnicity and region.

Notable results here include:

- Native Taiwanese is the majority in the cases in all four regions – 68.6% in the north region, 61.5% in the east region, 64.7% in the central region, and 74.7% in the south region.
- Mainlander has 11.8% of cases in the north region, 16.7% in the east region, 10.2% in the central region, and 6.4% in the south region.
- The above figures closely concur to the census statistics in Taiwan.

Table 4-30a

*Follower's Ethnic Identity * Gender Cross-tabulation*

		Gender	
		Male	Female
Follower's Ethnic Identity	Native Taiwanese	Count	412
		% within Gender	71.3%
	Mainlander	Count	42
		% within Gender	7.3%
	Hakka	Count	44
		% within Gender	7.6%
	Aboriginals	Count	7
		% within Gender	1.2%
	Other Ethnic Identity	Count	26
		% within Gender	4.5%
	Unsure Ethnic Identity	Count	47
		% within Gender	8.1%

Table 4-30b

*Follower's Ethnic Identity * Gender Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.108(a)	5	.105
Likelihood Ratio	9.151	5	.103
Linear-by-Linear Association	.000	1	.995
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.30.

Table 4-30c

*Follower's Ethnic Identity * Gender Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.090	.105
	Cramer's V	.090	.105
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-30a, 4-30b, and 4-30c and Figure 4-30 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.105 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the discussion of follower's ethnicity versus gender is omitted purposely since there is no statistical significance.

Table 4-31a

*Leader's Ethnic Identity * Region Cross-tabulation*

Leader's Ethnic Identity	Leader Has		Region			
			North	East	Central	South
Same Ethnic Identity	Same Ethnic Identity	Count	109	30	108	187
		% within Region	36.8%	31.3%	39.3%	41.2%
Different Ethnic Identity	Different Ethnic Identity	Count	75	33	75	70
		% within Region	25.3%	34.4%	27.3%	15.4%
Unsure Ethnic Identity	Unsure Ethnic Identity	Count	112	33	92	197
		% within Region	37.8%	34.4%	33.5%	43.4%

Table 4-31b

*Leader's Ethnic Identity * Region Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27.367(a)	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	27.737	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.001	1	.978
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 21.67.

Table 4-31c

*Leader's Ethnic Identity * Region Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.156	.000
	Cramer's V	.110	.000
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-31a, 4-31b, and 4-31c and Figure 4-31 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.000 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the 0.156 Phi value indicates that the association was weak between the leader's ethnicity and the region.

Notable results here include:

- The south region has the highest percentage (41.2%) of cases who believed their leader has a same ethnicity. The fact that the majority of cases in the south region are native Taiwanese could account for this.
- Also, the south region has the lowest percentage (15.4%) of cases who believed they and their leader are not in a same ethnicity.
- Furthermore, the south region has the highest percentage (43.4%) of cases not knowing their leader's ethnicity.

Table 4-32a

*Leader's Ethnic Identity * Gender Cross-tabulation*

			Gender	
			Male	Female
Leader's Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	Count	230	204
		% within Gender	39.8%	37.6%
	Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	Count	129	124
		% within Gender	22.3%	22.8%
	Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity	Count	219	215
		% within Gender	37.9%	39.6%

Table 4-32b

*Leader's Ethnic Identity * Gender Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.601(a)	2	.740
Likelihood Ratio	.601	2	.740
Linear-by-Linear Association	.558	1	.455
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 122.55.

Table 4-32c

*Leader's Ethnic Identity * Gender Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.023	.740
	Cramer's V	.023	.740
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-32a, 4-32b, and 4-32c and Figure 4-32 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.740 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the discussion of leader's ethnicity versus gender is omitted since there is no statistical significance.

Table 4-33a

*Region * Gender Cross-tabulation*

		Gender	
		Male	Female
Region	North	Count	138
		% within Gender	23.9%
	East	Count	49
		% within Gender	8.5%
	Central	Count	143
		% within Gender	24.7%
	South	Count	248
		% within Gender	42.9%

Table 4-33b

*Region * Gender Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.630(a)	3	.201
Likelihood Ratio	4.632	3	.201
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.524	1	.033
N of Valid Cases	1121		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 46.50.

Table 4-33c

*Region * Gender Symmetric Measures*

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.064	.201
	Cramer's V	.064	.201
N of Valid Cases		1121	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Shown in Tables 4-33a, 4-33b, and 4-33c and Figure 4-33 (exhibited in Appendix F), at a 0.201 significance level in the Chi-Square Tests, the discussion of region versus gender is omitted since there is no statistical significance.

Relationship Analyses between Continuous Variable Age and Discrete Variables

The Pearson Correlation Analysis in SPSS was used to analyze the relationship between the continuous independent variable Age and each discrete independent variable. The finding and the discussion are extended as follows.

Table 4-34a

Pearson Correlation between Age and Follower's Political Stance

		Age
Pan Green	Pearson Correlation	.027
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.375
	N	1121
Pan Blue	Pearson Correlation	.061(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.043
	N	1121
Other Political Stance	Pearson Correlation	-.027
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.362
	N	1121

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34a indicates that the follower's Pan Blue political stance has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.061$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34b

Pearson Correlation between Age and Leader's Political Stance

		Age
Leader Has Same Political Stance	Pearson Correlation	.043
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.155
	N	1121
Leader Has Different Political Stance	Pearson Correlation	-.005
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.862
	N	1121
Leader Has Unsure Political Stance	Pearson Correlation	-.033
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.263
	N	1121

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34b shows no statistical significant relationships between the leader's political stance and the age.

Table 4-34c

Pearson Correlation between Age and Follower's National Identity

		Age
Keep Status Quo	Pearson Correlation	.053
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.077
	N	1121
Pro-independence	Pearson Correlation	-.036
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.227
	N	1121
Pro-unity	Pearson Correlation	.065(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.030
	N	1121
Other National Identity	Pearson Correlation	-.024
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.425
	N	1121
Unsure National Identity	Pearson Correlation	-.064(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.033
	N	1121

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34c indicates that the follower's Pro-independence political stance has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.065$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-

tailed). Also, the follower's Unsure National Identity political stance has a very negative and weak relationship ($r = -0.064$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34d

Pearson Correlation between Age and Leader's national Identity

		Age
Leader Has Same National Identity	Pearson Correlation	.062(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.039
	N	1121
Leader Has Different National Identity	Pearson Correlation	-.048
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.108
	N	1121
Leader Has Unsure National Identity	Pearson Correlation	-.021
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.488
	N	1121

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
 ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34d indicates that the Leader's Has Same National Identity has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.062$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34e

Pearson Correlation between Age and Follower's Ethnic Identity

		Age
Native Taiwanese	Pearson Correlation	-.068(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.024
	N	1121
Mainlander	Pearson Correlation	.054
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.069
	N	1121
Hakka	Pearson Correlation	.046
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.126
	N	1121
Aboriginals	Pearson Correlation	-.068(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.023
	N	1121

Table 4-34e (continued)

Pearson Correlation between Age and Follower's Ethnic Identity

		Age
Other Ethnic Identity	Pearson Correlation	.064(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.032
	N	1121
Unsure Ethnic Identity	Pearson Correlation	-.012
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.683
	N	1121

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34e indicates that the follower's Native Taiwanese and Aborigines ethnicities both have a very weak and negative relationship ($r = -0.068$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed). Also, the follower's Other Ethnic Identity has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.064$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34f

Pearson Correlation between Age and Leader's Ethnicity

		Age
Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	Pearson Correlation	.016
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.596
	N	1121
Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	Pearson Correlation	-.008
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.786
	N	1121
Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity	Pearson Correlation	-.009
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.766
	N	1121

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34f shows no statistical significant relationships between the leader's ethnicity and the age.

Table 4-34g

Pearson Correlation between Age and Region

		Age
North Region	Pearson Correlation	-.035
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.243
	N	1121
East Region	Pearson Correlation	.165(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	1121
Central Region	Pearson Correlation	-.095(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001
	N	1121
South Region	Pearson Correlation	.021
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.493
	N	1121

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34g indicates the East Region variable has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.165$) with the age at significance 0.01 level (2-tailed). Also, the Central Region variable has a very weak and negative relationship ($r = -0.095$) with the age variable at significance 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34h

Pearson Correlation between Age and Follower's Gender

		Age
Male	Pearson Correlation	.118(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	1121
Female	Pearson Correlation	-.118(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	1121

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-34h indicates the Male variable has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.118$) with the age at significance 0.01 level (2-tailed). In contrast, the Female variable has a very weak and negative relationship ($r = -0.118$) with the age at significance 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Relationship Analyses between Continuous Variables Age and Leadership Performance

In the following paragraphs, the correlation analysis was used to analyze the relationship between the two continuous variables, Age and Leadership Performance. The findings and discussion are extended as follows.

Table 4-35a

Pearson Correlation between Age and Leadership Performance

		Leadership Performance
Age	Pearson Correlation	.052
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.080
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	14136.663
	Covariance	12.622
	N	1121

In Table 4-35a, Pearson Correlation analysis shows no statistical significant relationship between the age and the leadership performance.

Table 4-35b

Kendall's tau-b Correlation between Age and Leadership Performance

		Leadership Performance
Kendall's tau_b	Age	Correlation Coefficient
		.044(*)
		Sig. (2-tailed)
		.033
		N
		1121

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

However, in Table 4-35b Kendal's tau-b Correlation analysis indicates there is a weak yet positive relationship between the age and the leadership performance ($\tau = 0.044$) at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4-35c

Spearman Rank-Order Correlation between Age and Leadership Performance

Spearman's rho	Age	Leadership Performance	
		Correlation Coefficient	.063(*)
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.034
		N	1121

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Furthermore, in Table 4-35c, Spearman Rank-Order Correlation analysis indicates there is a weak yet positive relationship between the age and the leadership performance ($\theta = 0.063$) at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Statistical Analysis

In the following paragraphs, the amount of influence of each independent variable on the dependent variable leadership performance is discussed as follows.

Multiple Regression Analysis

Since conducting the multiple regression analysis can not include all predictors (independent variables) in each category, the following illustrates what predictors are used or excluded in the model 1 and the model 2, respectively:

Table 4-36a

Predictors in Model 1

Category	Predictors Included in Model 1	Predictors Excluded in Model 1
Follower's Political Stance	Pan Green	Unsure Political Stance
	Pan Blue	
	Other Political Stance	
Leader's Political Stance	Leader Has Unsure Political Stance	Leader Has Unsure Political Stance
	Leader Has Different Political Stance	

Table 4-36a (continued)

Predictors in Model 1

Category	Predictors Included in Model 1	Predictors Excluded in Model 1
Follower's National Identity	Keep Status Quo	Unsure National Identity
	Pro-independence	
	Pro-unity	
	Other National Identity	
Leader's National Identity	Leader Has Same National Identity	Leader Has Unsure National Identity
	Leader Has Different National Identity	
Follower's Ethnic Identity	Native Taiwanese	Unsure Ethnic Identity
	Mainlander	
	Hakka	
	Aboriginals	
	Other Ethnic Identity	
Leader's Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity
	Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	
Region	North Region	Central Region
	East Region	
	South Region	
Gender	Female	Male
Age	Age	

Note that all “unsure” type of independent variables (predictors), such as Unsure Political Stance, Unsure National Identity, etc.) have the least importance in finding the influence of independent variables (predictors) on the dependent variable in this research study, therefore all “unsure” type of independent variables (predictors) are excluded in both model 1 and model 2. Furthermore, in the model 1 the Central Region and the Male independent variables (predictors) were excluded, but they were included in the model 2.

Table 4-36b

Predicators in Model 2

Category	Predicators Included in Model 2	Predicators Excluded in Model 2
Follower's Political Stance	Pan Green	Unsure Political Stance
	Pan Blue	
	Other Political Stance	
Leader's Political Stance	Leader Has Unsure Political Stance	Leader Has Unsure Political Stance
	Leader Has Different Political Stance	
Follower's National Identity	Keep Status Quo	Unsure National Identity
	Pro-independence	
	Pro-unity	
	Other National Identity	
Leader's National Identity	Leader Has Same National Identity	Leader Has Unsure National Identity
	Leader Has Different National Identity	
Follower's Ethnic Identity	Native Taiwanese	Unsure Ethnic Identity
	Mainlander	
	Hakka	
	Aboriginals	
	Other Ethnic Identity	
Leader's Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	Leader Has Unsure Ethnic Identity
	Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	
Region	North Region	East Region
	Central Region	
	South Region	
Gender	Male	Female
Age	Age	

In the model 2, the Central Region and the Male independent variables (predicators) were included.

Table 4-36c

Model 1 Summary(b)

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.281(a)	.079	.060	21.068

a Predictors: (Constant), Age, Leader Has Different Political Stance, Other National Identity, North Region, Pan Blue, Aborigines, Hakka, Male, Pro-unity, Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity, Other Ethnic Identity, Mainlander, Other Political Stance, Central Region, Pro-independence, Leader Has Same National Identity, Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity, Pan Green, Leader Has Different National Identity, Leader Has Same Political Stance, Keep Status Quo, Native Taiwanese, South Region

b Dependent Variable: Leadership Performance

Table 4-36d

Model 1 ANOVA(b)

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	41839.298	23	1819.100	4.099	.000(a)
	Residual	486898.238	1097	443.845		
	Total	528737.536	1120			

a Predictors: (Constant), Age, Leader Has Different Political Stance, Other National Identity, North Region, Pan Blue, Aborigines, Hakka, Male, Pro-unity, Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity, Other Ethnic Identity, Mainlander, Other Political Stance, Central Region, Pro-independence, Leader Has Same National Identity, Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity, Pan Green, Leader Has Different National Identity, Leader Has Same Political Stance, Keep Status Quo, Native Taiwanese, South Region

b Dependent Variable: Leadership Performance

Shown in Table 4-36c, in the model 1, the 0.281 *R* value indicates that there is no substantial correlation between all independent variables (predictors) and the dependent variable Leadership Performance. The 0.060 Adjusted *R* Square depicts that only 6% of the variance in the leadership performance can be explained by the all entered independent variables (predictors). In other words, 94% of variance in the transformational leadership performance involves different factors other than the independent variables used in this research study. This un-explained 94% variance may be accounted for by analysis of other variables such as religion, salary, social status, job

nature, organization goals and beliefs, differences in status between leaders and followers.

Table 4-36e

Model 1 Coefficients(a)

	Un-standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
(Constant)	70.030	3.727		18.789	.000	62.717	77.343
Pan Green	1.607	1.944	.033	.827	.409	-2.207	5.421
Pan Blue	1.156	1.873	.024	.617	.537	-2.520	4.832
Other Political Stance	1.066	1.999	.018	.533	.594	-2.856	4.988
Leader Has Same Political Stance	-1.324	2.150	-.027	-.616	.538	-5.543	2.895
Leader Has Different Political Stance	-6.175	2.041	-.119	-3.025	.003	-10.181	-2.170
Keep Status Quo	6.510	2.210	.150	2.946	.003	2.175	10.845
Pro-independence	2.450	2.549	.049	.961	.337	-2.551	7.450
Pro-unity	.122	3.298	.001	.037	.971	-6.349	6.593
Other National Identity	2.406	2.954	.031	.815	.415	-3.390	8.202
Leader Has Same National Identity	6.152	1.983	.130	3.103	.002	2.261	10.042
Leader Has Different National Identity	-1.428	2.241	-.025	-.637	.524	-5.824	2.969
Native Taiwanese	1.167	2.544	.025	.459	.646	-3.823	6.158
Mainlander	2.141	3.205	.029	.668	.504	-4.148	8.430
Hakka	3.313	3.401	.039	.974	.330	-3.360	9.985
Aboriginals	-1.105	6.491	-.005	-.170	.865	-13.841	11.631
Other Ethnic Identity	-1.642	3.777	-.016	-.435	.664	-9.053	5.769
Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	3.681	1.685	.083	2.185	.029	.375	6.987
Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	.895	1.949	.017	.459	.646	-2.930	4.720
North Region	2.370	1.798	.048	1.318	.188	-1.159	5.898
East Region	2.747	2.622	.035	1.047	.295	-2.398	7.892
South Region	-.315	1.645	-.007	-.192	.848	-3.544	2.913
Female	-1.015	1.298	-.023	-.782	.434	-3.561	1.532
Age	.053	.059	.027	.902	.367	-.063	.170

a Dependent Variable: Leadership Performance

The findings revealed in Table 4-36e is extended as follows.

Statistical Significance in Model 1

In the model 1, only the following predictors (independent variables) have reached the preset confidence level ($p \leq 0.05$):

- Leader Has Different Political Stance (Sig. 0.003)
- Keep Status Quo (Sig. 0.003)
- Leader Has Same National Identity (Sig. 0.002)
- Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity (Sig. 0.029)

The discussions of Coefficients Analysis and Relative Influence Analysis in the subsequent paragraphs will be limited to these four predictors since only these predictors have reached a statistical significance.

Coefficients Analysis in Model 1

In the multi-regression equation, the coefficients (B value under "Un-standardized Coefficients" column) of the aforementioned four predictors (independent variables) in the model 1 multi-regression test are:

- Leader Has Different Political Stance has a negative 6.175 coefficient while the 95% confidence interval is ranged between -10.181 and -2.170, meaning the score of leadership performance will be reduced if the leader has a different political stance.
- Keep Status Quo has a positive 6.510 coefficient while 95% confidence interval is between 2.175 and 10.845, meaning the score of leadership performance will increase if the follower prefers Keep Status Quo of Taiwan's sovereignty.

- Leader Has Same National Identity has a positive 6.152 coefficient while 95% confidence interval is between 2.261 and 10.042, meaning the score of leadership performance will increase if the follower and the leader both have the same national identity.
- Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity has a positive 3.681 coefficient while 95% confidence interval is between 0.375 and 6.987, meaning the score of leadership performance will increase if the follower and the leader both have the same ethnicity.

Relative Influence in Model 1

The relative influence (Beta under "Standardized Coefficients" column) is:

- Keep Status Quo has the strongest positive influence (+0.150).
- Leader Has Same National Identity has a positive influence of (+0.130).
- Leader Has Different Political Stance has a negative (-0.119) influence.
- Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity has a least yet positive influence (+0.083).

Collinearity Analysis in Model 1

Table 4-36f

Model 1 Collinearity Statistics(a)

	Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
	Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
Pan Green	.020	.025	.024	.543	1.842
Pan Blue	.056	.019	.018	.573	1.745
Other Political Stance	-.030	.016	.015	.745	1.342
Leader Has Same Political Stance	.157	-.019	-.018	.434	2.303
Leader Has Different Political Stance	-.147	-.091	-.088	.547	1.829

Table 4-36f (continued)

Model 1 Collinearity Statistics(a)

	Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
	Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
Keep Status Quo	.139	.089	.085	.324	3.082
Pro-independence	-.041	.029	.028	.329	3.037
Pro-unity	-.044	.001	.001	.639	1.565
Other National Identity	-.052	.025	.024	.574	1.742
Leader Has Same National Identity	.203	.093	.090	.477	2.095
Leader Has Different National Identity	-.125	-.019	-.018	.558	1.792
Native Taiwanese	.029	.014	.013	.289	3.459
Mainlander	.015	.020	.019	.439	2.278
Hakka	.018	.029	.028	.511	1.958
Aboriginals	-.028	-.005	-.005	.820	1.220
Other Ethnic Identity	-.037	-.013	-.013	.585	1.710
Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	.140	.066	.063	.588	1.701
Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity	-.052	.014	.013	.596	1.677
North Region	.044	.040	.038	.630	1.587
East Region	.012	.032	.030	.735	1.360
South Region	-.032	-.006	-.006	.607	1.648
Female	-.021	-.024	-.023	.941	1.062
Age	.052	.027	.026	.914	1.094

a Dependent Variable: Leadership Performance

Note that in Table 4-36e there are no Beta values under Standardized Coefficients exceed the range of -1 to +1 and that in Table 4-36f there is no Tolerance nears zero, it is therefore concluded that no problematic collinearity issue among independent variables exists.

Residuals Analysis in Model 1

Table 4-36g

Model 1 Residuals Statistics(a)

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	63.46	94.03	79.91	6.112	1121
Std. Predicted Value	-2.690	2.310	.000	1.000	1121
Standard Error of Predicted Value	1.836	6.748	3.000	.707	1121
Adjusted Predicted Value	63.91	94.51	79.91	6.141	1121
Residual	-67.86	54.06	.00	20.850	1121
Std. Residual	-3.221	2.566	.000	.990	1121
Stud. Residual	-3.260	2.586	.000	1.000	1121
Deleted Residual	-69.51	54.89	.00	21.308	1121
Stud. Deleted Residual	-3.274	2.592	.000	1.001	1121
Mahal. Distance	7.506	113.921	22.979	12.905	1121
Cook's Distance	.000	.020	.001	.002	1121
Centered Leverage Value	.007	.102	.021	.012	1121

a Dependent Variable: Leadership Performance

Exhibited in Appendix F, Figure 4-36a illustrates that the standardized residual is normally distributed while the adjusted predicted value is 79.91 as shown in Table 4-36g.

Exhibited in Appendix F, Figure 4-36b presents the linearity between the leadership performance and the standardized residuals.

Analysis of Model 2

Table 4-37

Model 2 Coefficients(a)

	Un-standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
(Constant)	71.762	4.308		16.658	.000	63.309	80.215
North Region	-.377	2.550	-.008	-.148	.882	-5.381	4.626
Central Region	-2.747	2.622	-.054	-1.047	.295	-7.892	2.398
South Region	-3.062	2.480	-.069	-1.235	.217	-7.928	1.804
Male	1.015	1.298	.023	.782	.434	-1.532	3.561

a Dependent Variable: Leadership Performance

As shown in Table 4-37, the adding of Male and Central Region predictors in the mode 2 does not gain any additional or different statistical significance other than what was already discovered in the model 1, therefore the discussion of the model 2 is omitted purposely.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION, CONSLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Introduction

The purpose of this research study is to reveal any influencing factors on the leader's transformational leadership performance from the perspectives of follower's political stance, leader's political stance, follower's national identity, leader's national identity, follower's ethnicity, leader's ethnicity, geographical regions, follower's gender, and follower's age, and formulate the predictions of how these factors influence the leader's transformational leadership performance.

This research study adopted a transformational leadership performance questionnaire revised from Ju's (2002) "*A study of the relationship between principals' transformational and transactional leadership and teachers' job satisfaction*" research study, as the research instruments.

The pilot and full surveys were conducted on any working adults in general public who worked in Taiwan in either public or private sectors and had a supervisor (leader) to directly report to. The pilot survey was conducted only in the north and the south regions in Taiwan, and the full survey was later conducted in all four regions (north, central, east, and south) in Taiwan.

The collected valid sample data from the pilot survey was analyzed with Chronbach's Alpha analysis to ensure that the reliability of every question on the transformational leadership performance questionnaire would reach an acceptable level.

The collected sample data from the full survey were screened with Explore function in SPSS to ensure the data completeness. Then the valid sample data was further analyzed with Descriptive Analysis, Frequency Analysis, Central Tendency Analysis, Cross-tabulation Analysis, Chi Square Analysis, Pearson Correlation Analysis, Kendal's tau-b Analysis, Spearman Rank-Order Analysis, Coefficient Analysis in Multiple Regression Test, Relative Influence Analysis in Multiple Regression Test, Collinearity Analysis in Multiple Regression Test, Distribution Normality of Residuals in Multiple Regression Test, and Linearity of Residuals in Multiple Regression Test.

In this chapter, the major findings from the aforementioned analyses are summarized and concluded, and used to derive recommendations for future studies and references for the Department of Education, and any government agencies, political parties, organizations, or stakeholders who concern the harmony and confrontation among different ethnicities in Taiwan.

Conclusions

The major findings from the data analyses in this research study are summarized and discussed as follows.

Findings from Frequency Analyses

- a) Of the 1121 cases, 26.1% claimed they are pan-green supporters while 26.9% pan-blue supporters, 15.8% had other political stance, and 31.1% were not sure of their political stance.
- b) Of the 1121 cases, 50.1% of cases preferred keeping the status quo of Taiwan's sovereignty while 24.5% favored Taiwan independence, 8.7% choose unity with

China, 10.6% were not sure where Taiwan should go, and 8.7% had their own ideology.

- c) Of the 1121 cases, 30.2% of cases believed they and their leader share a same national identity, while 17% believed their leader has a different national identity, and 52.7% did not know their leader's national identity.
- d) Of the 1121 cases, 69.5% of cases claimed they are native Taiwanese while 9.6% Mainlanders, 7.3% Hakka, 1.2% Aborigines, 5% other ethnicity, and 7.4% not knowing of their ethnicity.

Note that Finding (a) reveals that only 26.1% of cases claimed they are pan-green supporters and Finding (d) reveals that 69.5% of cases claimed they are native Taiwanese.

Since the figure of 26.1% is much lower than the figure of 69.5%, it is obvious that the pan-green supporters are not the majority of those who claimed they are native Taiwanese.

- e) Of the 1121 cases, 38.7% of cases believed they and leader belong to the same ethnicity, while 22.6% believed their leader are in different ethnicities, with the remaining 38.7% not knowing their leader's ethnicity.
- f) Of the 1121 cases, 26.4% of cases lived in the north region, while 8.6% in the east region, 24.5% in the central region, and 40.5% in the south region.
- g) Of the 1121 cases, 51.6% of cases are male and 48.4% are female.
- h) Of the 1121 cases, the youngest age group is 18 (0.9% of cases) while the oldest age group is 70 (0.3%). The age group 30 has the largest percentage (6%)

followed by the age group 40 (5.8%). The age from 27 to 32 is the largest group followed by the group of age from 22 to 27.

Findings from Central Tendency Analyses

Table 5-1a

Average Mean of Questions in Transformational Leadership Dimension

Category (or Dimension)	Average Mean
Charisma	3.228
Inspirational Motivation	3.248
Intellectual Stimulation	3.144
Individualized Consideration	3.222
Vision	3.136

Table 5-1a presents the average mean of questions each category (or dimension) of transformational leadership performance. All average means in five dimensions are above the median (3).

Table 5-1b

Central Tendency Analysis - Transformational Leadership Performance

Leadership Performance		
N	Valid	1121
	Missing	0
Mean		79.91
Std. Error of Mean		.649
Median		80.00
Mode		75
Std. Deviation		21.728

Shown in Table 5-1b includes that the most of data variability swings within a reasonable range between 58.182 and 101.638 (Standard Deviation of 21.728) and that the mean 79.91 of overall leaders' transformational leadership performance is below the median 80. Therefore, it is concluded that the leaders' transformational leadership performance from all cases' perception is slightly below the average.

Findings from Cross-tabulation Analysis and Chi-Square Test

Follower's Political Stance * Leader's Political Stance Cross-tabulation

- 1) Those cases who were not sure of their own political stance were the largest group (45.5%) of not knowing their leader's political stance.
- 2) The pan-blue fellows were the majority (46.5%) of those who believed their leader the same political stance (pan-blue) as theirs, followed by the pan-green folks (27.6%).
- 3) The pan-green folks were the majority (33.5%) of those believing their leader had a different political stance, followed by pan-blue fellows (27.1%).

Follower's Political Stance * Follower's National Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) The pan-green fellows were the largest group (62.9%) of pro Taiwan independence, and the pan-blue group was the least group (6.9%) in favor of Taiwan independence.
- 2) In terms of supporting unity with China, the pan-blue fellows (57.4) were the largest group, and the pan-green group was the least (11.8%).
- 3) Those cases not knowing their own political stance were the majority (49.6%) of not being sure of their own national identity.

Follower's Political Stance * Leader's National Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) The majority (42.3%) of those not knowing their leader's nationality identity were those cases who were not sure of their own political stance.
- 2) The pan-blue fellows were the majority (62.9%) of knowing their leader's national identity, followed by the pan-green folks (33%).

- 3) The pan-green fellows (34.6%) were the majority claiming their leader had a different national identity, followed by pan-blue folks (29.3%).

Follower's Political Stance * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) Those cases who were not sure of their political stance were the majority (60.2%) of those who were not sure of their own ethnicity.
- 2) The pan-green supporters (33.6%) were the largest group claiming they were Native Taiwanese, followed by those not sure of their own national identity (30.2%) and then pan-blue was placed third (21.7%).
- 3) The pan-blue fellows (60.2%) were the majority of those who claimed they were mainlanders while only 4.6% of pan-green folks claimed they were mainlanders.
- 4) A 15.4% of aboriginals claimed they were pan-green supporters while 23.1% were pan-blue followers.

Follower's Political Stance * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) The majority (41%) of those who were not sure of their leader's ethnicity were those cases who were not sure of their political stance.
- 2) The pan-green fellows (32%) were the largest group claiming their leader had a same ethnicity, followed by pan-blue folks (30.9%).
- 3) The pan-blue fellows (32%) were the largest group claiming their leader had a different ethnicity, followed by pan-green folks (26.9%).

Follower's Political Stance * Region Cross-tabulation

- 1) Pan-blue supports had the highest percentage in the east and the central regions, 40.6% and 30.2%, respectively.
- 2) Pan-green supports had the highest percentage (26.2%) in the south region.

- 3) In the north region, pan-green and pan-blue supports shared an approximate percentage – 27.4% (pan-green) versus 26.7% (pan-blue).

Follower's Political Stance * Gender Cross-tabulation

- 1) Male cases had a higher percentage (31.8%) than female cases (20.1%) in favor of being pan-green supporter.
- 2) Female cases had a higher percentage (31.5%) than male cases (22.7%) in favor of being pan-blue supporter.

Leader's Political Stance * Follower's National Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) Leader Has Unsure Political Stance has the highest percentages in all five follower's national identities (50.4% in Keep Status Quo, 40.4% in Pro-independence, 50.0% in Pro-unity, 58.8% in Other National Identity, and 68.9% in Unsure National Identity).
- 2) A 30.1% of those cases who preferred Keep Status Quo believed their leader has a same political stance. In contrast, only 19.6% of those cases who preferred Keep Status Quo believed their leader has a different political stance.
- 3) In the Pro-independence folks, the percentage of believing or not believing their leader has a same political stance are approximately equal – 31.3% versus 28.4%.
- 4) In the Pro-unity folks, the percentage of cases believing or not believing their leader has a same political stance are equal - 25% versus 25%.

Leader's Political Stance * Leader's National Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) The majority (70.8%) of those cases who believed their leader has a same national identity also tend to believe their leader has a same political stance they have.

This is demonstrated by 70.8% versus 10.3% (believed has a different political stance).

- 2) The majority (74.9%) of those cases who believed their leader has a different national identity also tend to believe their leader has a different political stance than they have. This is demonstrated by 74.9% versus 11% (believed has a same political stance).
- 3) The majority (80.5%) of those cases who were not sure of their leader's national identity also tend to not knowing their leader's political stance.

Leader's Political Stance * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) Leader Has Unsure Political Stance has the largest percentages in all aspects of follower's ethnicity (48.9% in Native Taiwanese, 40.7% in Mainlander, 43.9% in Hakka, 38.5% in Aborigines, 76.8% in Other Ethnic Identity, and 69.9% in Unsure Ethnic Identity).
- 2) In the Native Taiwanese and the Mainlander ethnicity groups, the percentage of believing their leader has a same political stance is higher than the percentage of believing their leader has a different political stance (28.8% versus 22.3% in Native Taiwanese, and 35.2% versus 24.1% in Mainlander).
- 3) Hakka ethnic group has an opposite phenomena - the percentage of believing their leader has a same political stance is lower than the percentage of believing their leader has a different political stance (26.8% versus 29.3%).

Leader's Political Stance * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) The majority (47%) of those cases who believed that they and their leader belong to the same ethnicity tend to believe that they and their leader have a same

political stance. This is demonstrated by 47% versus 17.7% (believed they and their leader have a different political stance).

- 2) The majority (45.5%) of those cases who believed that they and their leader are in different ethnicity groups tend to believe that they and their leader have a different political stance. This is demonstrated by 45.5% versus 26.1% (believed they and their leader share a same political stance).

Leader's Political Stance * Region Cross-tabulation

- 1) Leader Has Unsure Political Stance has the largest percentages in all four regions (48.3% in the north region, 40.6% in the east region, 45.1% in the central region, and 57.6% in the south region).
- 2) Except the east region, all other 3 regions have a higher percentage of Leader Has Same Political Stance than Leader Has Different Political Stance (29.7% versus 22% in the north region, 28.7% versus 26.2% in the central region, and 24.2% versus 18.3% in the south region).
- 3) In contrast, the east region has a lower percentage of Leader Has Same Political Stance than the percentage of Leader Has Different Political Stance (27.1% versus 32.3%).

Follower's National Identity * Leader's National Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) Keep Status Quo has the largest percentages in all three Leader's National Identity (59.9% in Leader Has Same National Identity, 39.8% in Leader Has Different National Identity, and 47.9% in Leader Has Unsure National identity).

- 2) Next to Keep Status Quo is Pro-independence that has 26.5% in Leader Has Same National Identity, 31.9% in Leader Has Different National Identity, and 21.0% in Leader Has Unsure National identity.
- 3) Pro-unity only has 5% in Leader Has Same National Identity, 7.3% in Leader Has Different National Identity, and 6.3% in Leader Has Unsure National identity.

Follower's National Identity * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) Keep Status Quo is the first choice for all cases in all six ethnic groups - 49.9% in Native Taiwanese, 59.3% in Mainlander, 52.4% in Hakka, 30.8% in Aborigines, 48.2% in Other Ethnic Identity, and 42.2% in Unsure Ethnic Identity.
- 2) Pro-independence is the second choice for all cases in all ethnicities - 30.2% in Native Taiwanese, 6.5% in Mainlander, 19.5% in Hakka, 30.8% in Aborigines, 5.4% in Other Ethnic Identity, and 12% in Unsure Ethnic Identity. Note that only 6.5% of Mainlanders choose pro Taiwan independence.
- 3) Pro-unity only gains 4.6% in Native Taiwanese, 16.7% in Mainlander, 7.3% in Hakka, 7.7% in Aborigines, 3.6% in Other Ethnic Identity, and 6% in Unsure Ethnic Identity.

Follower's National Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) Keep Status Quo appears to be the first choice for all cases in regard to their leader's ethnicity - 53.7% in those who believed their leader has a same ethnicity, 47.4% in those who believed their leader has a different ethnicity, and 48.2% in those who were not sure of their leader's ethnicity.
- 2) Pro-independence is the second choice for all cases in regard to their leader's ethnicity - 28.6% in those who believed their leader has a same ethnicity, 24.5%

in those who believed their leader has a different ethnicity, and 20.5% in those who were not sure of their leader's ethnicity.

- 3) Pro-unity gains 5.8% in those who believed their leader has a same ethnicity, 7.1% in those who believed that they and their leader have different ethnicities, and 5.8% in those who were not sure of their leader's ethnicity.

Follower's National Identity * Region Cross-tabulation

- 1) Keep Status Quo is the first choice for all cases in all regions - 51.0% in the north region, 36.5% in the east region, 56.4% in the central region, and 48.7% in the south region.
- 2) Pro-independence is the second choice for all cases in all regions - 19.9% in the north region, 17.7% in the east region, 25.5% in the central region, and 28.4% in the south region.
- 3) Pro-unity gains 7.1% in the north region, 7.3% in the east region, 6.2% in the central region, and 5.1% in the south region.

Follower's National Identity * Gender Cross-tabulation

- 1) Keep Status Quo is the first choice for all cases in both genders. However, female cases have a higher percentage (54.1%) than male cases (46.4%) in favor of Keep Status Quo.
- 2) Pro-independence is the second choice for all cases in both genders. Nonetheless, male cases have a higher percentage (28.2%) than female cases (20.6%) in terms of favoring Taiwan independence.
- 3) Pro-unity takes the last seat - gains 6.6% in male cases and 5.6% in female cases.

Leader's National Identity * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) In all aspects of followers' ethnicity, most of cases were not sure of their leader's national identity - 50.3% in Native Taiwanese, 44.4% in Mainlanders, 50% in Hakka, 46.2% in Aborigines, 71.4% in those who claimed they have an another ethnicity, and 77.1% in those who were not sure of their ethnicity.
- 2) Leader Has Same National Identity ranked second in all cases' ethnicities, except in the Aborigines. A 32 percent of Native Taiwanese believed their leader has a same national identity they have, while 32.4% in Mainlander, 29.3% in Hakka, 21.4% in Other Ethnic identity, and 19.3% in Unsure Ethnic Identity. Controversially, only 23.1% of Aborigines claimed their leader has a same national identity while 30.8% of Aborigines claimed their leader has a different national identity.
- 3) Leader Has Different National Identity takes the last seat in all ethnic groups, except Aborigines. A 17.7% of Native Taiwanese believed their leader has a different national identity than theirs, while 23.1% in Mainlander, 20.7% in Hakka, 7.1% in Other Ethnic identity, and 3.6% in Unsure Ethnic Identity.

Leader's National Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) The majority (51.8%) of those cases who believed their leader has same ethnicity tend to believe their leader has a same national identity. This is demonstrated by 51.8% versus 12.2% (believed their leader has a different national identity).
- 2) A 39.5% of those cases who believed their leader has a different ethnicity tend to believe their leader has a different national identity. This is demonstrated by 39.5% versus 28.1% (believed their leader has a same national identity).

- 3) An 81.3% of those cases who did not know their leader's ethnicity also tend to be not sure of their leader's national identity.

Leader's National Identity * Region Cross-tabulation

- 1) In all regions, most of the cases claimed they were not sure of their leader's national identity - 48.3% in the north region, 43.8% in the east region, 52.4% in the central region, and 57.7% in the south region.
- 2) Leader Has Same National Identity ranks second in all four regions - 31.8% in the north region, 29.2% in the east region, 30.5% in the central region, and 29.3% in the south region.
- 3) Leader Has Different National Identity tails - 19.9% in the north region, 27.1% in the east region, 17.1% in the central region, and 13% in the south region.

Leader's National Identity * Gender Cross-tabulation

- 1) Female cases have a higher percentage (57.1%) than male cases (48.6%) on not knowing their leader's national identity.
- 2) In contrast, male sample were more assertive on guessing their leader's national identity. A 33% of male cases believed their leaders have a same national identity while only 27.3% in female cases.
- 3) Similarly, 18.3% of male cases believed their leaders have a different national identity while 15.7% in female cases.

Follower's Ethnic Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

- 1) The majority (85.7%) of those cases who believed their leader has a same ethnicity are Native Taiwanese.

- 2) The majority (54.9%) of those cases who believed their leader has a different ethnicity are Native Taiwanese.
- 3) The majority (61.8%) of those cases who were not sure their leader's ethnicity are Native Taiwanese.
- 4) Mainlander and Hakka are the minority, and only 6.9% and 3.0% of those cases who believed their leader has a same ethnicity are Mainlanders and Hakka, respectively.

Follower's Ethnic Identity * Region Cross-tabulation

- 1) Native Taiwanese is the majority in the cases in all four regions – 68.6% in the north region, 61.5% in the east region, 64.7% in the central region, and 74.7% in the south region.
- 2) Mainlander has 11.8% of cases in the north region, 16.7% in the east region, 10.2% in the central region, and 6.4% in the south region.

Leader's Ethnic Identity * Region Cross-tabulation

- 1) The south region has the highest percentage (41.2%) of cases who believed their leader has a same ethnicity.
- 2) Also, the south region has the lowest percentage (15.4%) of cases who believed they and their leader are in different ethnicities.
- 3) Furthermore, the south region has the highest percentage (43.4%) of cases not knowing their leader's ethnicity.

Findings from Relationship Analyses between Continuous Variable Age and Discrete Variables

Correlation between Age and Follower's Political Stance

- 1) Pearson Correlation Analysis reveals that the follower's Pan Blue political stance has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.061$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Correlation between Age and Follower's National Identity

- 1) Pearson Correlation Analysis reveals that the follower's Pro-independence political stance has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.065$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).
- 2) Also, the follower's Unsure National Identity political stance has a very negative and weak relationship ($r = -0.064$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Correlation between Age and Leader's national Identity

- 1) Pearson Correlation Analysis reveals that the Leader's Has Same National Identity has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.062$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Correlation between Age and Follower's Ethnic Identity

- 1) Pearson Correlation Analysis reveals that the follower's Native Taiwanese and Aborigines ethnicities both have a very weak and negative relationship ($r = -0.068$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).
- 2) Also, the follower's Other Ethnic Identity has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.064$) with the age at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Correlation between Age and Region

- 1) Pearson Correlation Analysis reveals that the East Region variable has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.165$) with the age at significance 0.01 level (2-tailed).
- 2) Also, the Central Region variable has a very weak and negative relationship ($r = -0.095$) with the age variable at significance 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Correlation between Age and Follower's Gender

- 1) Pearson Correlation Analysis reveals that the Male variable has a very weak yet positive relationship ($r = 0.118$) with the age at significance 0.01 level (2-tailed).
- 2) In contrast, the Female variable has a very weak and negative relationship ($r = -0.118$) with the age at significance 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Correlation between Age and Leadership Performance

- 1) Kendal's tau-b Correlation Analysis reveals that there is a weak yet positive relationship between the age and the leadership performance ($\tau = 0.044$) at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).
- 2) Furthermore, Spearman Rank-Order Correlation Analysis reveals that there is a weak yet positive relationship between the age and the leadership performance ($\theta = 0.063$) at significance 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Findings from Statistical Analyses

Statistical Significance in Multiple Regression Test

- 1) Only four predictors (independent variables) have reached the preset confidence level ($p \leq 0.05$). They are:
 - Leader Has Different Political Stance (Sig. 0.003)
 - Keep Status Quo (Sig. 0.003)

- Leader Has Same National Identity (Sig. 0.002)
- Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity (Sig. 0.029)

Table 5-2a

Summary of Model 1 Multiple Regression Test (b)

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.281(a)	.079	.060	21.068

a Predictors: (Constant), Age, Leader Has Different Political Stance, Other National Identity, North Region, Pan Blue, Aborigines, Hakka, Male, Pro-unity, Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity, Other Ethnic Identity, Mainlander, Other Political Stance, Central Region, Pro-independence, Leader Has Same National Identity, Leader Has Different Ethnic Identity, Pan Green, Leader Has Different National Identity, Leader Has Same Political Stance, Keep Status Quo, Native Taiwanese, South Region

b Dependent Variable: Leadership Performance

- 2) Shown in Table 5-2a, the 0.281 *R* value indicates that there is no substantial correlation between all entered predictors (independent variables) and the dependent variable Leadership Performance.
- 3) The 0.060 Adjusted *R* Square depicts that only 6% of the variance in the leadership performance can be explained by the all entered independent variables (predictors). In other words, 94% of variance in the transformational leadership performance involves different factors other than the independent variables used in this research study. This un-explained 94% variance may be accounted for by analysis of other variables such as religion, salary, social status, job nature, organization goals and beliefs, differences in status between leaders and followers.

Therefore, it is concluded that the predication of the leadership performance by the all entered predictors (independent variables) will not have statistical significance.

In other words, it will not be possible to predict the leadership performance by the aforementioned independent variables.

Coefficients Analysis in Multiple Regression Test

Table 5-2b

Coefficients of Model 1 Multiple Regression Test (b)

	Un-standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Leader Has Different Political Stance	-6.175	2.041	-.119	-3.025	.003	-10.181	-2.170
Keep Status Quo	6.510	2.210	.150	2.946	.003	2.175	10.845
Leader Has Same National Identity	6.152	1.983	.130	3.103	.002	2.261	10.042
Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity	3.681	1.685	.083	2.185	.029	.375	6.987

a Dependent Variable: Leadership Performance

- 1) Shown in Table 5-2b, Leader Has Different Political Stance has a negative 6.175 coefficient while the 95% confidence interval is ranged between -10.181 and -2.170, meaning the score of leadership performance will be reduced if the leader has a different political stance.
- 2) Keep Status Quo has a positive 6.510 coefficient while 95% confidence interval is between 2.175 and 10.845, meaning the score of leadership performance will increase if the follower prefers Keep Status Quo of Taiwan’s sovereignty.
- 3) Leader Has Same National Identity has a positive 6.152 coefficient while 95% confidence interval is between 2.261 and 10.042, meaning the score of leadership

performance will increase if the follower and the leader both have a same national identity.

- 4) Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity has a positive 3.681 coefficient while 95% confidence interval is between 0.375 and 6.987, meaning the score of leadership performance will increase if the follower and the leader both have a same ethnicity.

Relative Influence Analysis in Multiple Regression Test

- 1) Shown in Table 5-2b, Keep Status Quo has the strongest positive influence (+0.150).
- 2) Leader Has Same National Identity has a positive influence of (+0.130).
- 3) Leader Has Different Political Stance has a negative (-0.119) influence.
- 4) Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity has a least yet positive influence (+0.083).

Testing of Null Hypotheses

The findings from the multiple regression analysis are used here to accept or reject the preset null hypotheses, and the discussion is extended as follows.

Sub-null Hypothesis #a Political stance or ideology has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

This null hypothesis is rejected by the following finding:

- 1) Leader Has Different Political Stance has a negative 6.175 coefficient and a negative 0.119 relative influence on the leader's transformational leadership performance within the preset confidence level.

Sub-null Hypothesis #b National identity has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

This null hypothesis is rejected by the following findings:

- 1) Keep Status Quo has a positive 6.510 coefficient and a positive 0.150 relative influence on the leader's transformational leadership performance within the predefined confidence level.
- 2) Leader Has Same National Identity has a positive 6.152 coefficient and a positive 0.130 relative influence on the leader's transformational leadership performance within the predefined confidence level.

Sub-null Hypothesis #c Ethnicity has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

This null hypothesis is rejected by the following finding:

- 1) Leader Has Same Ethnic Identity has a positive 3.681 coefficient and a positive 0.083 relative influence on the leader's transformational leadership performance within the preset confidence level.

Sub-null Hypothesis #d Geographical region has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

No statistical finding to reject this null hypothesis.

Sub-null Hypothesis #e Gender has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

No statistical finding to reject this null hypothesis.

Sub-null Hypothesis #f Age has no influence on the followers' perception of leader's transformational leadership performance.

No statistical finding to reject this null hypothesis.

Recommendations for Government Agencies and Department of Education in Taiwan

This research study is conducted in the hope of providing public and private sectors in Taiwan with constructive recommendations so that the positive relationship between leaders and followers may be fostered and any negative factors may be eliminated.

The research result from this research study indicates that different political stances, different national identities, and different ethnicities between the followers and their leader have influence on the leader's transformational leadership performance.

Therefore, the recommendations for all government agencies and the Department of Education are as follows:

- 1) In order to eliminate the conflict from heterogeneity in ethnic identities, national identities, political stances, or ideologies, government issued documents, such as birth certificates, passports, national identification cards, etc., should include information of birthplaces in Taiwan rather than province names in mainland China. Some of second or third generations of Mainlanders or Hakka may have already recognized themselves as Taiwanese, but their parents, at the time of filing for birth certificate, could declare them as Mainlanders by filling the Province of Birth Place with the province names in mainland China from which their parents or grandparents emigrated. Such information indirectly distinguishes the heterogeneity among ethnic identities, national identities, or even political stances, and ultimately provokes the unnecessary disarray not only at individual level but also in the Taiwan society as a whole.

- 2) Any unseemliness that would create confusion in the ideologies rather than unify the different national identities or strengthen the Taiwan Identity should be prevented. For instances, over emphasis in history and geography of mainland China and negligence of Taiwanese history and geography at K-12 schools confuses the students' national identity, weakens the students' Taiwanese awareness and Taiwanese identity, and ultimately creates unnecessary conflicts among different ethnic groups. By familiarizing students more with Taiwan history and geography, the Taiwanese identity will be forged, and the aforementioned conflict among ethnicities can then be minimized.
- 3) School principals and government agency leaders, such as mayors, department ministers, directors, etc., although most of the time affiliated with specific political parties, should remain neutral and avoid commenting on issues regarding political stances, national identities, and ethnicities so as to promote harmony among the followers.

Recommendations for All Political Parties

It was often seen in the recent elections that one or more than one political parties provoked the ethnic confrontation and took advantage of the ethnic confrontation to stimulate their followers for gaining more votes. It is therefore recommended to all political parties in Taiwan not to use ethnic conflicts during any presidential or primary elections in Taiwan, so that the harmony of ethnicity will not deteriorate.

Recommendations for All Stakeholders

It is recommended to educate all stakeholders in Taiwan that different political stance, national identity, or ethnicity can have negative influence on their leader's transformational leadership performance. By doing so, followers and leaders, family members, colleagues, or friends can be more cautious to avoid any unnecessary conflicts whenever any issues regarding political stances, national identity or ethnicity arise.

Recommendations for Future Study

Research Question

It is recommended for future study to research how the incompatible beliefs and values systems, confronting religions (e.g. Jewish, Muslim, and Islam), and conflicting national identities (Israel and Palestine) influence the transformational leadership performance.

Sample Population

The sample size in this research study was limited by the time constraint in general and by the social connections the primary researcher had in Taiwan, especially in the east region in which the primary researcher had very little help. Also, the sample population in this research study was targeted at the general public.

It is recommended for future study to extend the sample size, especially in the east region, and to expand the sample population beyond the general public but specifically into various government agencies, public and private K-12 schools and colleges, so that diversity in the sample population can be achieved.

Research Instruments

The questionnaire survey was used in this research study to gather needed number of sample cases for achieving the required statistical significance. Nonetheless, the questionnaire survey may contain large amount of data that do not reflect the true opinions of the participants.

It is recommended for the future study to conduct individual interview instead of large scale of questionnaire survey for attaining true and detailed opinions from the participants.

It is also recommended for the future study to extend the aspects of independent variables by including educational degree, social status, type of occupations, parent's ethnicity and national identity, and so on, so, if any, more factors that affect the followers' perception of their leader's transformational leadership performance can be discovered.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A

Transformational Leadership Performance Questionnaire

Appendix A - Transformational Leadership Performance Questionnaire

<i>Category</i>	<i>Question Number</i>	<i>Question</i>
Charisma	1	Your supervisor is easy-going and pleasant and possesses a sense of humors.
	2	Your supervisor's charismatic leadership will inspire you to have confidence for a better future of your organization.
	3	Judging from his/her talks and achievements, your supervisor is seen to have a personal charisma to influence people.
	4	Your supervisor's working attitude and dexterity in handling things will easily win your approval and admirations.
	5	Your supervisor's easy-going, pleasant, and personality suggests that he/she is a person of affinity and you are happy to work in an organization under his/her leadership.
Inspirational Motivation	6	Your supervisor will initiate some new projects to create more opportunities for the staff to get involved and totally immersed in the activities to prove their talents and merits.
	7	Your supervisor will attempt thru his/her dialogue and communication with you to promote team spirits among the co-workers with a view to attaining our goal.
	8	Your supervisor will cite cases of men with excellent virtues as models for you to learn and to improve the qualities of your performance.
	9	Your supervisor will treat your work as an important issue, and attempts to stimulate your interest to make greater effort to accomplish the mission.
	10	Your supervisor will from time to time inspire you to have courage and up-beat spirits to face new challenges.
Intellectual Stimulation	11	Your supervisor will from time to time provide you with the latest information of the modern world, leading you to explore new knowledge in areas of our mutual concern.
	12	Your supervisor will guide you with a new approach to think and solve problems.
	13	Your supervisor will take an active approach to recruit talents and teach them with his/her own personal experience.

	14	Your supervisor will enliven us to share and exchange your skill and working experience.
	15	In order to keep abreast with the modern world, your supervisor in his/her career of teaching never ceases to study and absorb new knowledge, and prompt those working under him/her to renew their interest, to continue learning, and to attend in-service training if so required.
Individualized Consideration	16	Your supervisor will foresee your needs and give you timely assistance.
	17	Where a problem arises, Your supervisor will be more than delighted to give you assistance and advice.
	18	Your supervisor will help the new employees to learn more about the organization and to take care of them if so required.
	19	Your supervisor is sympathetic to our hard work and will address our grievances where justified.
	20	When you encounter setback and hardships, Your supervisor will understand our feelings and will offer words of consolation and encouragement.
Vision	21	Your supervisor thoroughly understands the future development of the organization and proposes some far-reaching schemes.
	22	Your supervisor will seek to meet and discuss with you the future developments of your organization.
	23	Your supervisor will propose a plan, which is agreeable to you for you to work relentlessly towards the goal.
	24	Your supervisor has a clear picture of the organization's future development and information of which will be disseminated in due course.
	25	Your supervisor will always attempt to instill you with hope and aspiration. Your discussion for the blue print of a promising future will meet with his/her zealous response.

Appendix B

Permission Letter of Using Preexisting Instruments in Ju's (2002) Research

Appendix B - Permission Letter of Using Preexisting Instruments in Ju's (2002)

Research Study

DATE: 05/19/03 08:12 P. 001

To Whom It May Concern:

It is to confirm that Mr. Hungchun James Chung in his dissertation research has my permission to use the instruments and the research method I developed in my research study *Relationship Between Principals' Transformational and Transactional Leadership and Teachers' Job Satisfaction in Elementary Schools in Taiwan* published August 2002 in Taiwan.

Any questions and/or issues regarding to this matter should be forwarded to me and discussed with me fully.

Regards,



Appendix C

Survey Questionnaire

Appendix C - Survey Questionnaire

A Questionnaire on Leaders' Transformational Leadership in General Public in Taiwan

Dear Participant:

This questionnaire is designed to probe your supervisor's transformational leadership performance. The results from the survey will be used for academic research purposes only. Your contribution of answers is requested in the hope that this study will benefit all of people in Taiwan.

Your answers are of great importance. Please answer all the questions based on what you observe in your professional life and do not leave out any questions. This is an anonymous survey and what you fill in is strictly confidential and restricted for this study. After filling out this questionnaire, please turn it in to the contact person in your office. Your contribution is greatly appreciated.

By completing and returning this questionnaire, you give your informed consent to participate in this research study.

Best regards,

James Chang
Lynn University

Directions: (Please answer based on your personal information and your Supervisor)

I. Profile:

- () 1. Your political stance is: (1) Pan-green (2) Pan-blue (3) Others (4) Unknown
- () 2. You think you and your supervisor share a same political stance: (1) Yes (2) No (3) Not sure
- () 3. Your national identity: (1) Keep status quo (2) Pro-independence of Taiwan (3) Pro-unity with China (4) Others (5) Not sure
- () 4 You think you and your supervisor share a same national identity: (1) Yes (2) No (3) Not sure
- () 5 Your ethnic identity: (1) Native Taiwan (2) Mainlander (3) Hakka (4) Aborigines (5) Others (6) Unknown
- () 6 You think you and your supervisor have a same ethnic identity: (1) Yes (2) No (3) Not sure
- () 7 You live in the region of Taiwan (1) North (2) East (3) Central (4) South
- () 8 Your gender: (1) Male (2) Female
- () 9 Your age

II. Questions:

Your Supervisor's Transformational Leadership Performance

Instructions: Please read the descriptions and check one corresponding answers in the boxes ranking from the least likely on the left and the most likely on the right.

1. Completely not in agreement
2. Mostly not in agreement
3. Partially in agreement
4. Mostly in agreement
5. Completely in agreement

<i>Response</i>	<i>Question Number</i>	<i>Question</i>
	1	Your supervisor is easy-going and pleasant and possesses a sense of humors.
	2	Your supervisor's charismatic leadership will inspire you to have confidence for a better future of your organization.
	3	Judging from his/her talks and achievements, your supervisor is seen to have a personal charisma to influence people.
	4	Your supervisor's working attitude and dexterity in handling things will easily win your approval ad admirations.
	5	Your supervisor's easy-going, pleasant, and personality suggests that he/she is a person of affinity and you are happy to work in an organization under his/her leadership.
	6	Your supervisor will initiate some new projects to create more opportunities for the staff to get involved and totally immersed in the activities to prove their talents and merits.
	7	Your supervisor will attempt thru his/her dialogue and communication with you to promote team spirits among the co-workers with a view to attaining our goal.
	8	Your supervisor will cite cases of men with excellent virtues as models for you to learn and to improve the qualities of your performance.
	9	Your supervisor will treat your work as an important issue, and attempts to stimulate your interest to make greater effort to accomplish the mission.
	10	Your supervisor will from time to time inspire you to have courage and up-heat spirits to face new challenges.
	11	Your supervisor will from time to time provide you with the latest information of the modern world, leading you to explore new knowledge in areas of our mutual concern.
	12	Your supervisor will guide you with a new approach to think and solve problems.
	13	Your supervisor will take an active approach to recruit talents and teach them with his/her own personal experience.
	14	Your supervisor will enliven us to share and exchange your skill and working experience.

	15	In order to keep abreast with the modern world, your supervisor in his/her career of teaching never ceases to study and absorb new knowledge, and prompt those working under him/her to renew their interest, to continue learning, and to attend in-service training if so required.
	16	Your supervisor will foresee your needs and give you timely assistance.
	17	Where a problem arises, Your supervisor will be more than delighted to give you assistance and advice.
	18	Your supervisor will help the new employees to learn more about the organization and to take care of them if so required.
	19	Your supervisor is sympathetic to our hard work and will address our grievances where justified.
	20	When you encounter setback and hardships, Your supervisor will understand our feelings and will offer words of consolation and encouragement.
	21	Your supervisor thoroughly understands the future development of the organization and proposes some far-reaching schemes.
	22	Your supervisor will seek to meet and discuss with you the future developments of your organization.
	23	Your supervisor will propose a plan, which is agreeable to you for you to work relentlessly towards the goal.
	24	Your supervisor has a clear picture of the organization's future development and information of which will be disseminated in due course.
	25	Your supervisor will always attempt to instill you with hope and aspiration. Your discussion for the blue print of a promising future will meet with his/her zealous response.

Appendix D

Reliability of Transformational Leadership Questionnaire



Appendix D - Reliability of Transformational Leadership Questionnaire

***** Method 1 (space saver) will be used for this analysis *****

RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - SCALE (ALPHA)

		Mean	Std Dev	Cases
1.	Q1	3.2000	1.0938	335.0
2.	Q2	3.0836	1.0662	335.0
3.	Q3	3.0985	1.0291	335.0
4.	Q4	3.0000	1.0722	335.0
5.	Q5	3.1791	1.0878	335.0
6.	Q6	3.1164	1.0273	335.0
7.	Q7	3.1224	1.0439	335.0
8.	Q8	3.2388	1.0818	335.0
9.	Q9	3.2090	1.0139	335.0
10.	Q10	3.2388	1.0651	335.0
11.	Q11	3.0507	1.1108	335.0
12.	Q12	3.0985	1.0233	335.0
13.	Q13	3.0388	1.1353	335.0
14.	Q14	3.0687	1.0770	335.0
15.	Q15	3.0030	1.2050	335.0
16.	Q16	3.1433	1.0282	335.0
17.	Q17	3.1761	1.0924	335.0
18.	Q18	3.2836	1.0440	335.0
19.	Q19	2.9881	1.1160	335.0
20.	Q20	3.1104	1.0791	335.0
21.	Q21	3.0358	1.1314	335.0
22.	Q22	2.8985	1.0841	335.0
23.	Q23	2.9522	1.0656	335.0
24.	Q24	3.1045	1.0713	335.0
25.	Q25	3.1104	1.1226	335.0

	N of			
Statistics for	Mean	Variance	Std Dev	Variables
SCALE	77.5493	449.5357	21.2023	25

RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - SCALE (ALPHA)

Item-total Statistics

Scale	Scale	Corrected	
Mean	Variance	Item-	Alpha
if Item	if Item	Total	if Item
Deleted	Deleted	Correlation	Deleted

Q1	74.3493	418.9106	.6573	.9739
Q2	74.4657	413.4112	.8070	.9728
Q3	74.4507	417.4878	.7368	.9733
Q4	74.5493	414.4878	.7764	.9730
Q5	74.3701	413.7608	.7816	.9730
Q6	74.4328	416.7073	.7576	.9732
Q7	74.4269	416.4490	.7510	.9732
Q8	74.3104	415.5860	.7432	.9733
Q9	74.3403	416.9856	.7612	.9731
Q10	74.3104	415.8195	.7501	.9732
Q11	74.4985	414.5262	.7467	.9732
Q12	74.4507	416.6615	.7619	.9731
Q13	74.5104	411.8914	.7889	.9729
Q14	74.4806	412.5198	.8196	.9727
Q15	74.5463	412.9612	.7171	.9735
Q16	74.4060	414.9365	.8007	.9729
Q17	74.3731	413.8753	.7754	.9730
Q18	74.2657	416.8184	.7419	.9733
Q19	74.5612	412.1452	.7977	.9729
Q20	74.4388	415.1871	.7546	.9732
Q21	74.5134	411.6877	.7964	.9729
Q22	74.6507	414.2399	.7732	.9730
Q23	74.5970	413.6365	.8021	.9728
Q24	74.4448	414.4573	.7779	.9730
Q25	74.4388	413.3069	.7661	.9731

Reliability Coefficients

N of Cases = 335.0

N of Items = 25

Alpha = .9742

Appendix F

Statistical Result

Figures 4-4a to 4-4i



Appendix E - Figures 4-4a to 4-4i

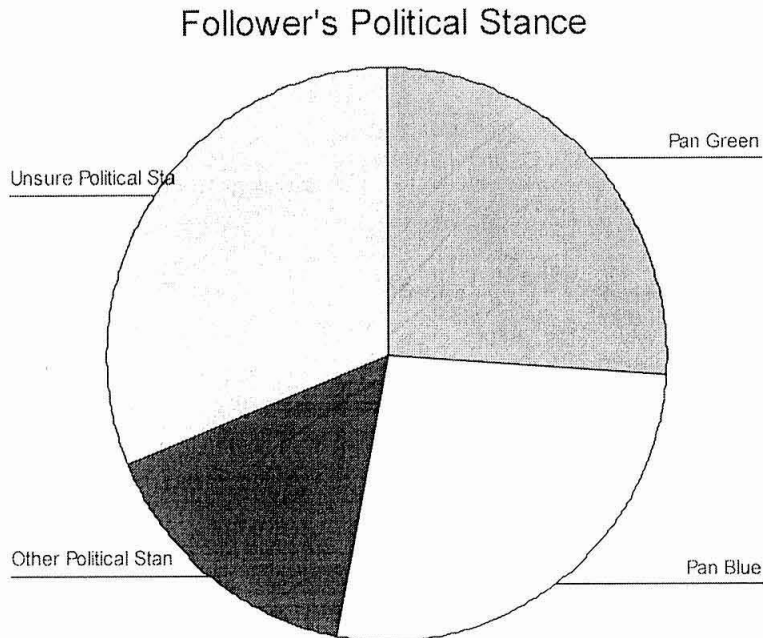


Figure 4-4a. Frequency Analysis - Follower's Political Stance

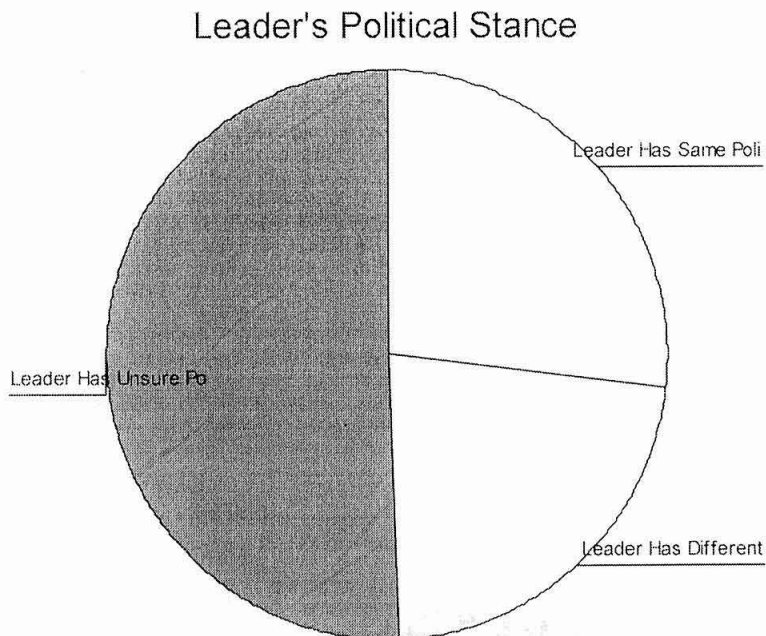


Figure 4-4b. Frequency Analysis - Leader's Political Stance

Follower's National Identity

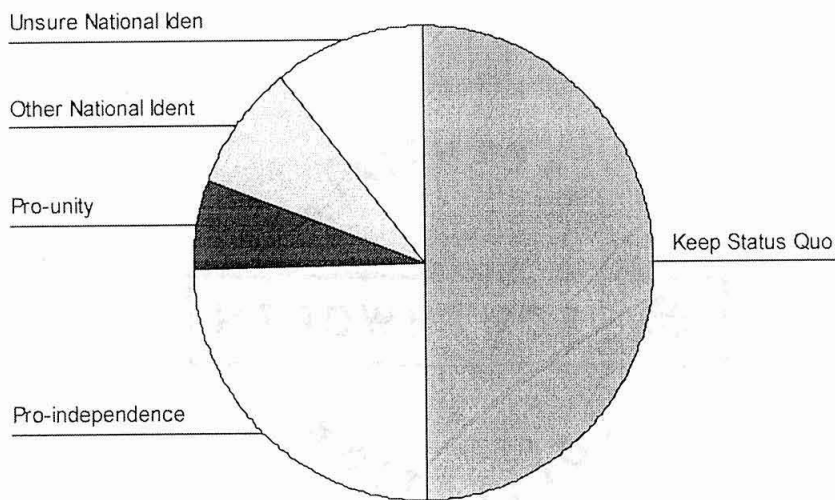


Figure 4-4c. Frequency Analysis - Follower's National Identity

Leader's National Identity

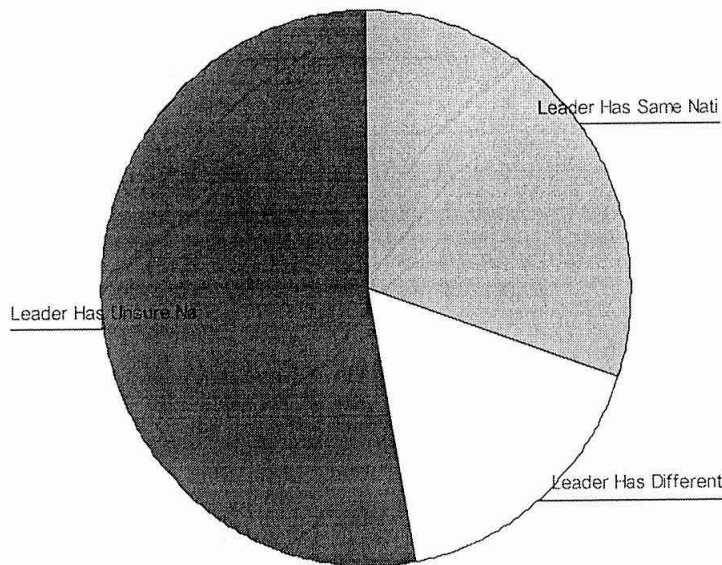


Figure 4-4d. Frequency Analysis - Leader's National Identity

Follower's Ethnic Identity

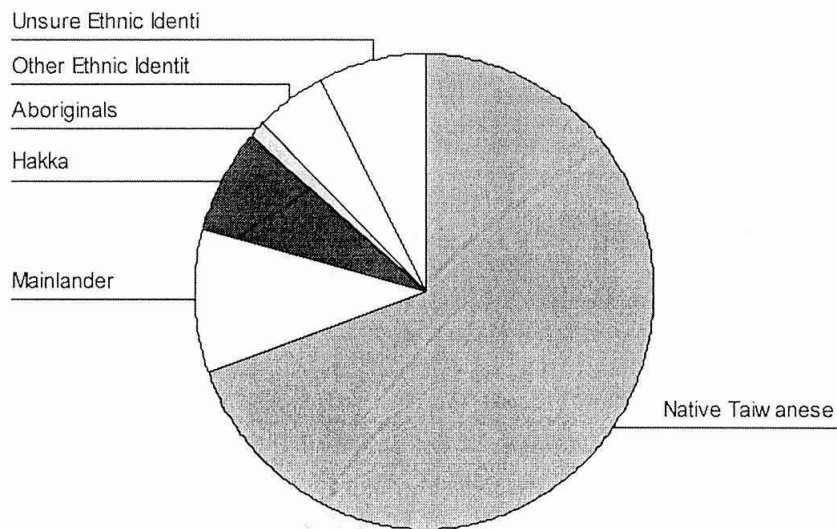


Figure 4-4e. Frequency Analysis - Follower's Ethnic Identity

Leader's Ethnic Identity

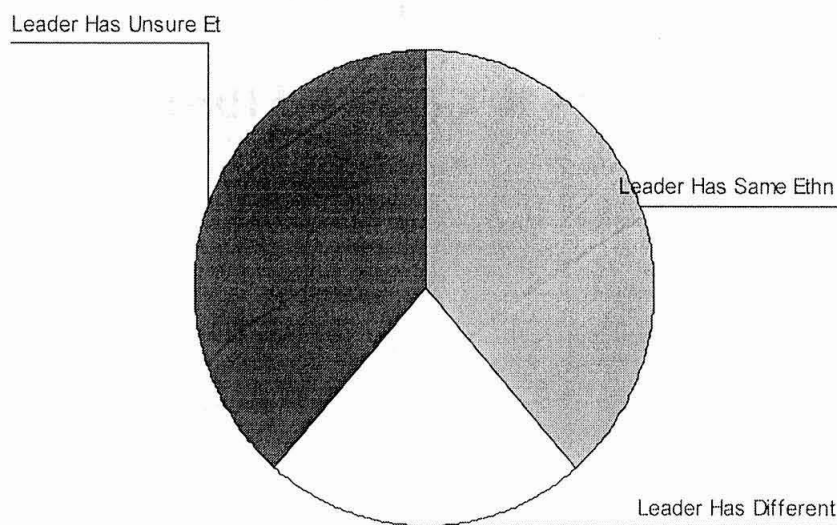


Figure 4-4f. Frequency Analysis - Leader's Ethnic Identity

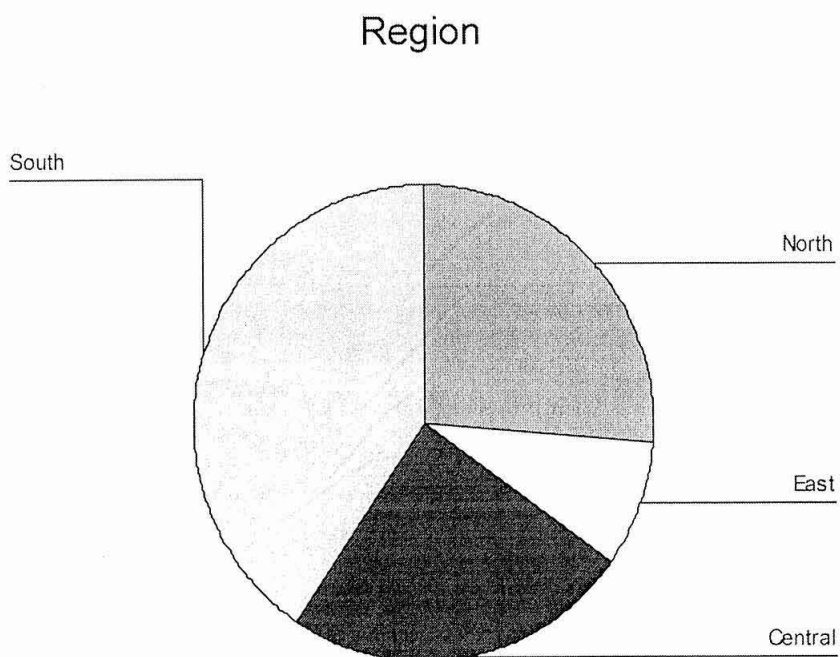


Figure 4-4g. Frequency Analysis – Region

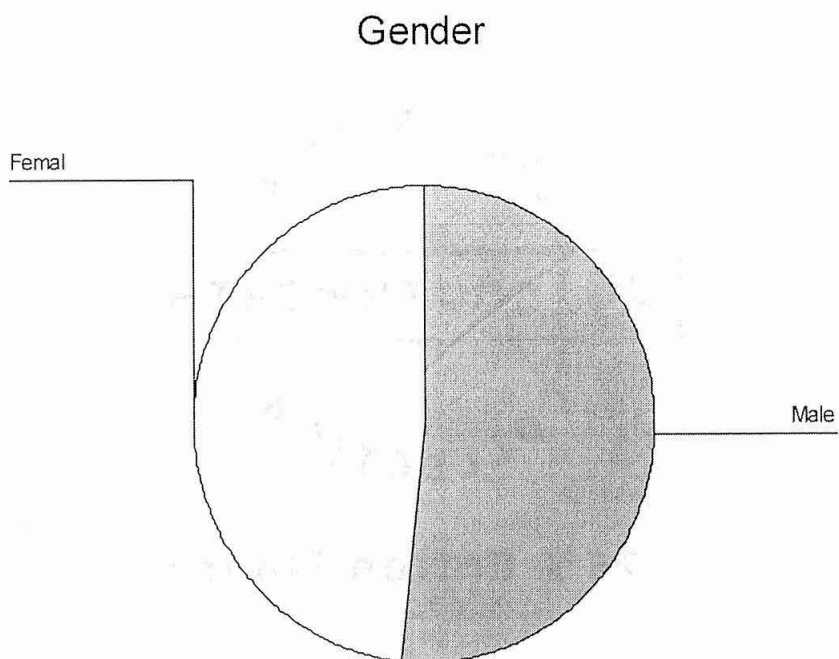


Figure 4-4h. Frequency Analysis - Gender

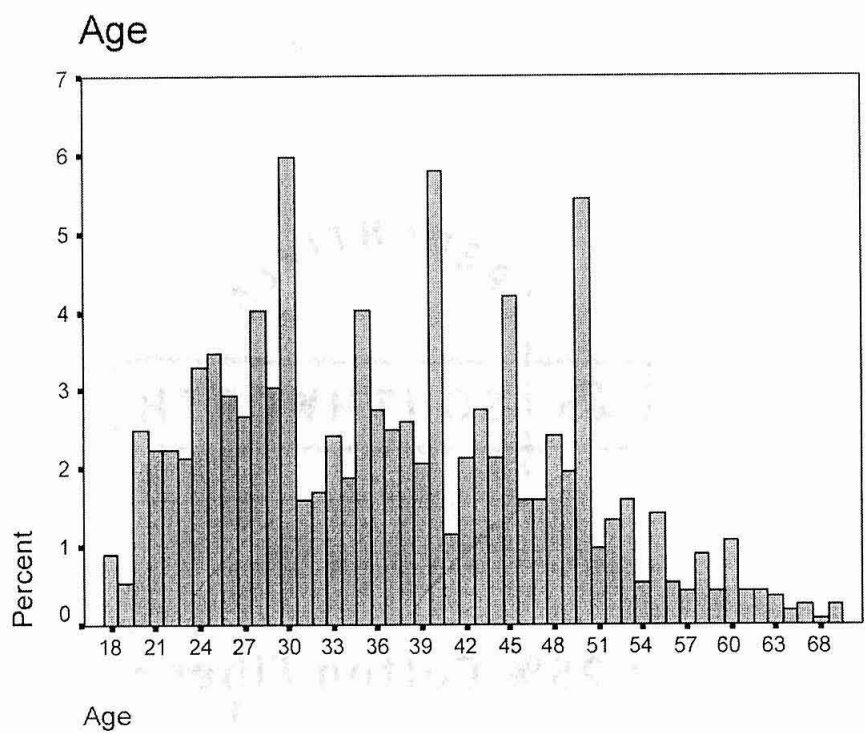


Figure 4-4i. Frequency Analysis - Age

Appendix F

Statistical Result

Figures 4-5 to 4-36b

Appendix F – Figures 4-5 to 4-36b

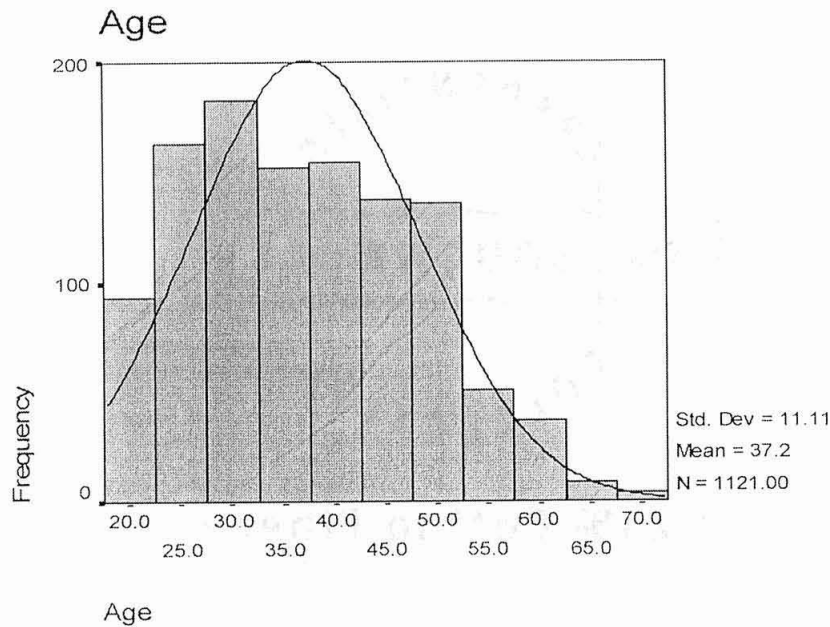


Figure 4-5. Central Tendency Analysis - Age

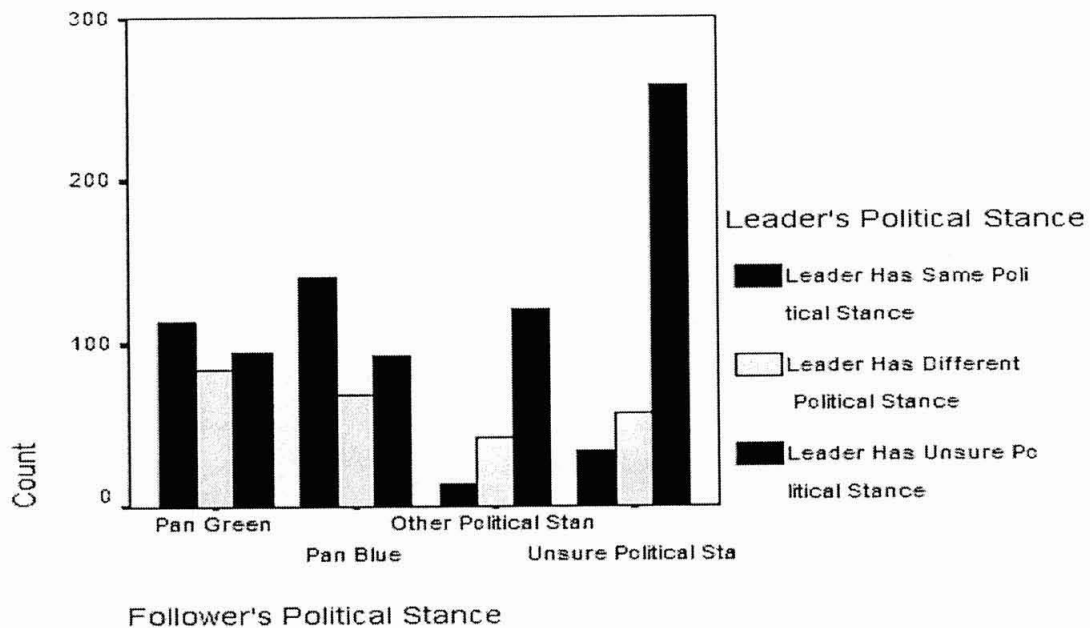


Figure 4-6. Follower's Political Stance * Leader's Political Stance Cross-tabulation

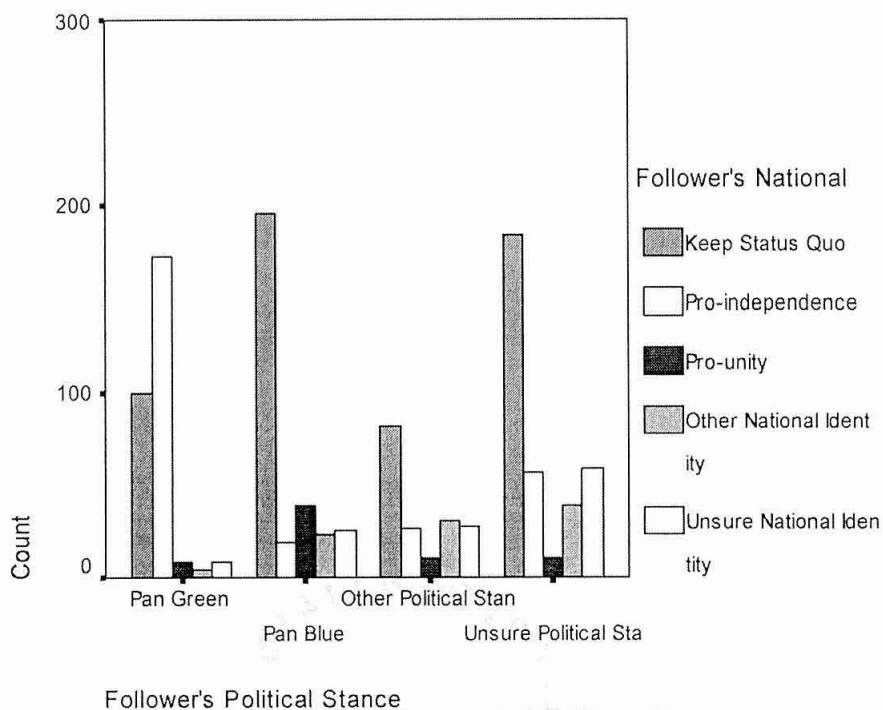


Figure 4-7. Follower's Political Stance * Follower's National Identity Cross-tabulation

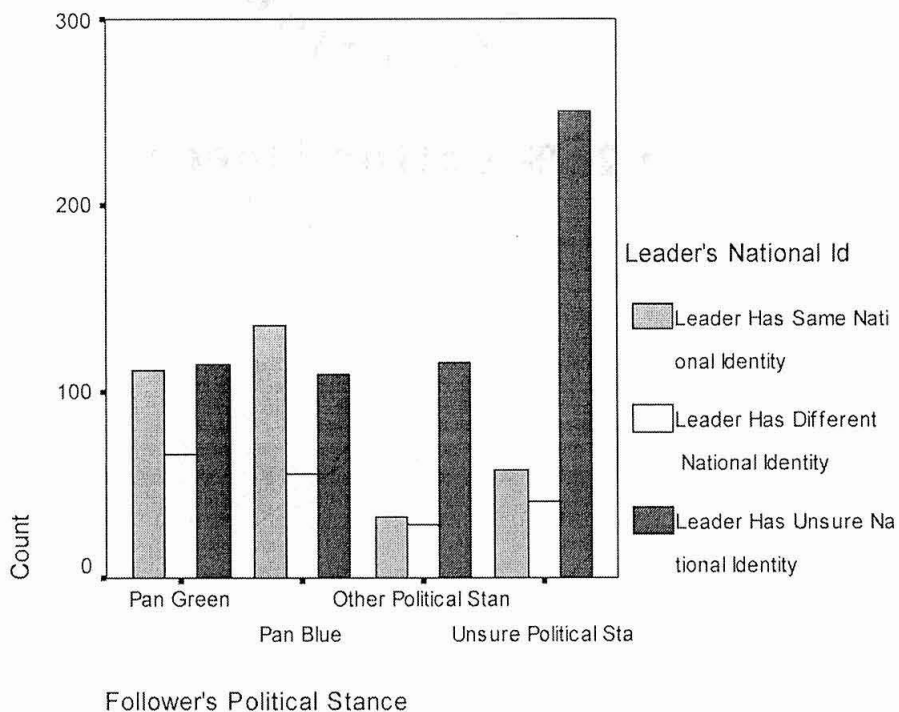


Figure 4-8. Follower's Political Stance * Leader's National Identity Cross-tabulation

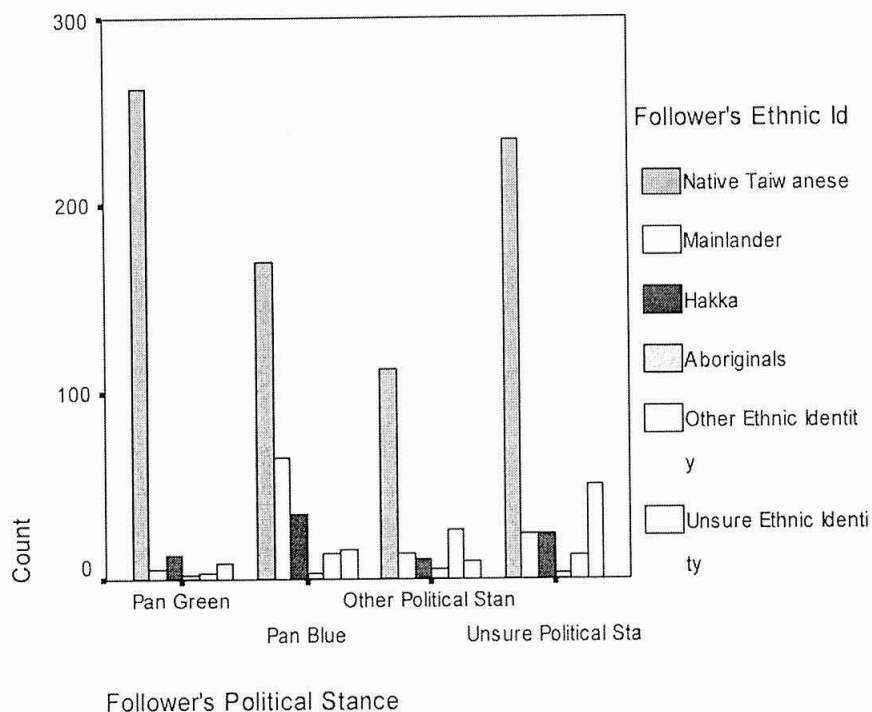


Figure 4-9. Follower's Political Stance * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

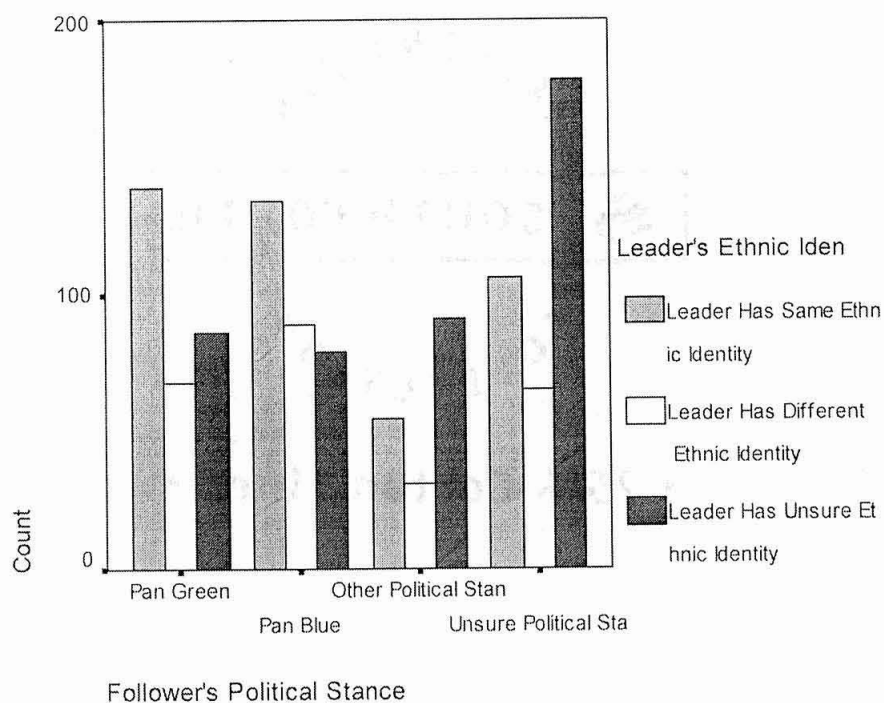


Figure 4-10. Follower's Political Stance * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

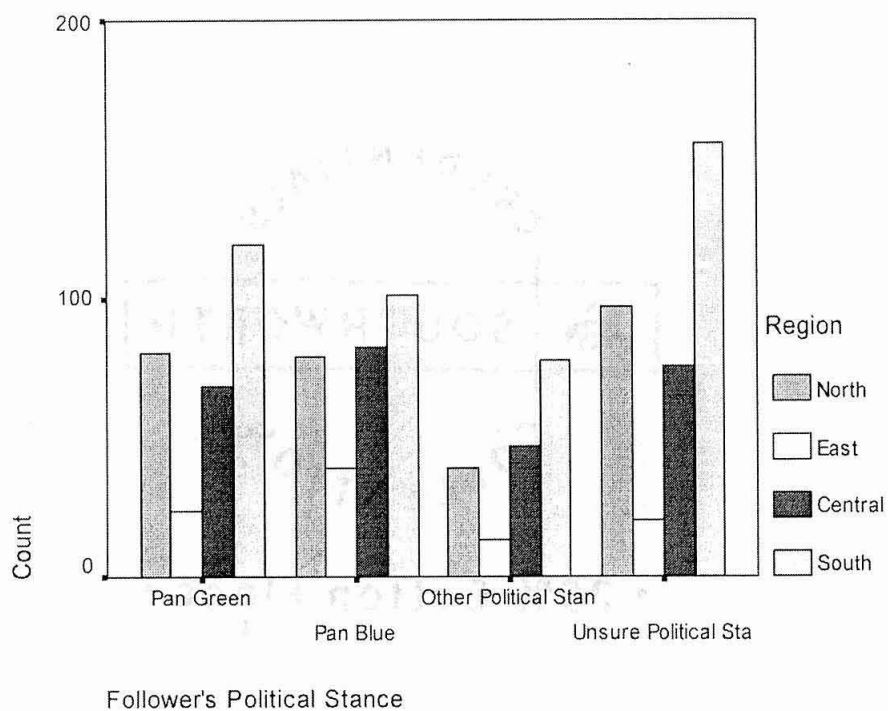


Figure 4-11. Follower's Political Stance * Region Cross-tabulation

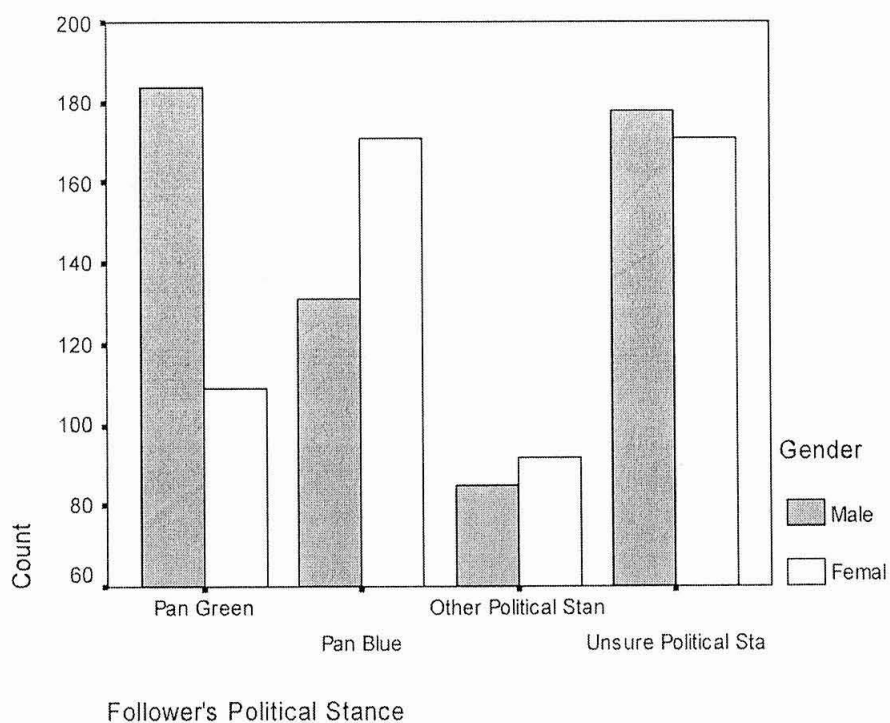


Figure 4-12. Follower's Political Stance * Gender Cross-tabulation

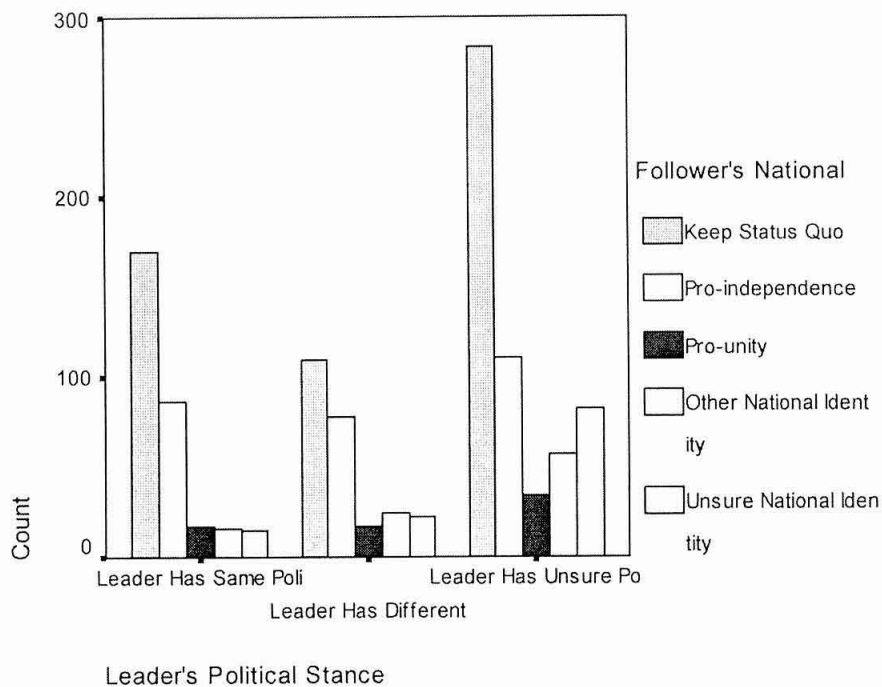


Figure 4-13. Leader's Political Stance * Follower's National Identity Cross-tabulation

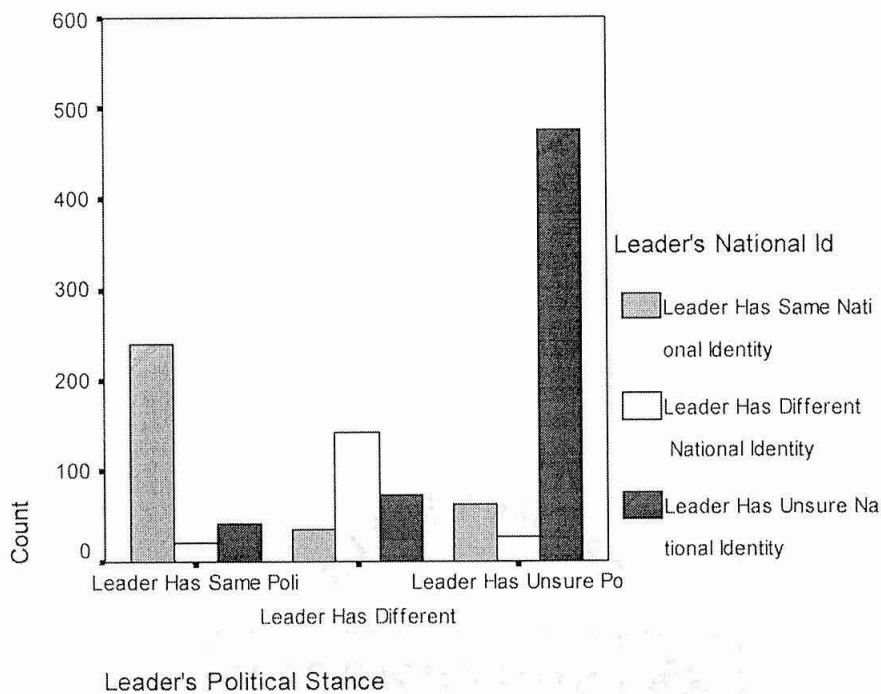


Figure 4-14. Leader's Political Stance * Leader's National Identity Cross-tabulation

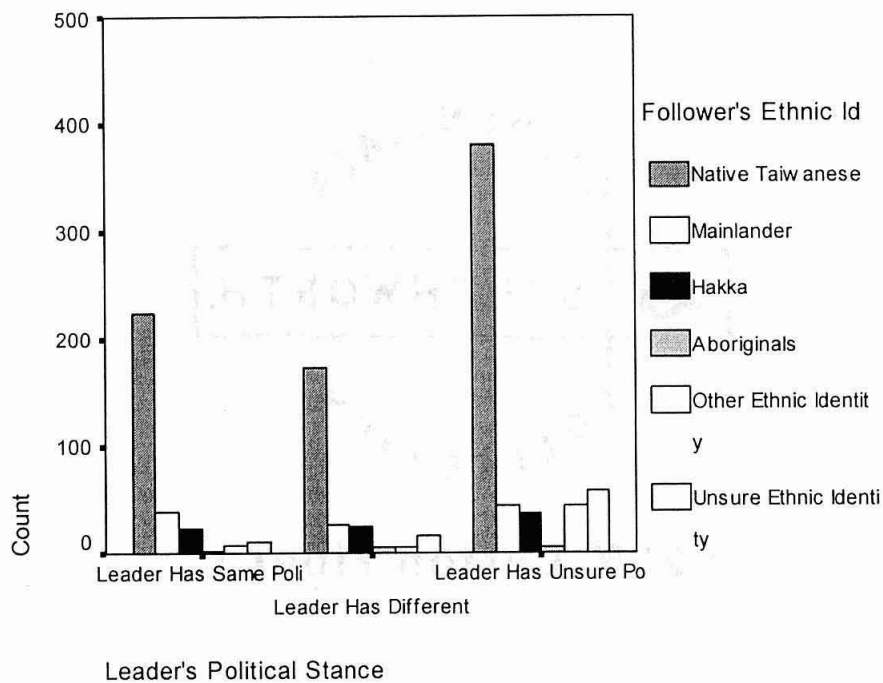


Figure 4-15. Leader's Political Stance * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

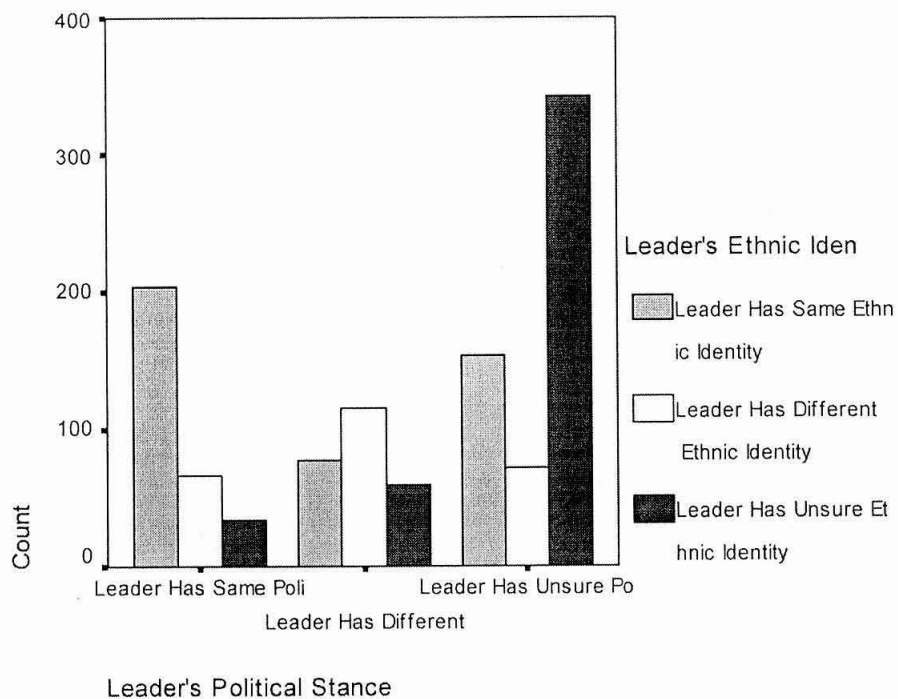


Figure 4-16. Leader's Political Stance * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

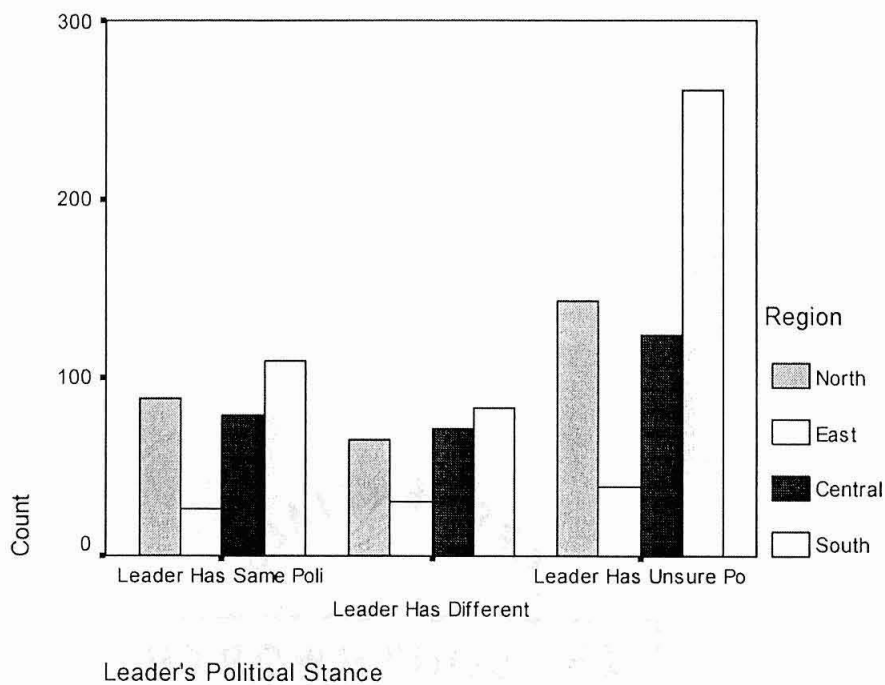


Figure 4-17. Leader's Political Stance * Region Cross-tabulation

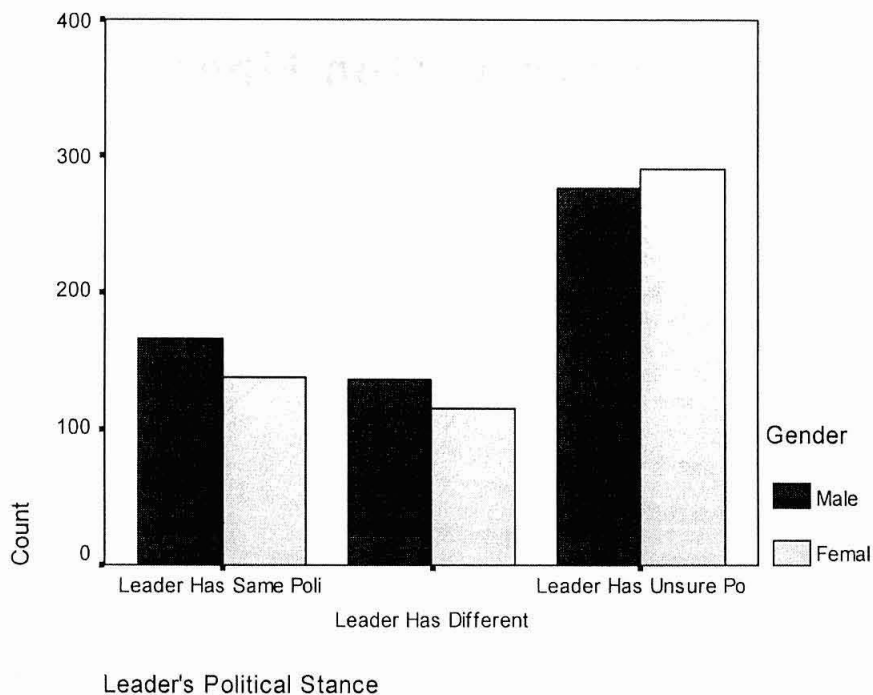


Figure 4-18. Leader's Political Stance * Gender Cross-tabulation

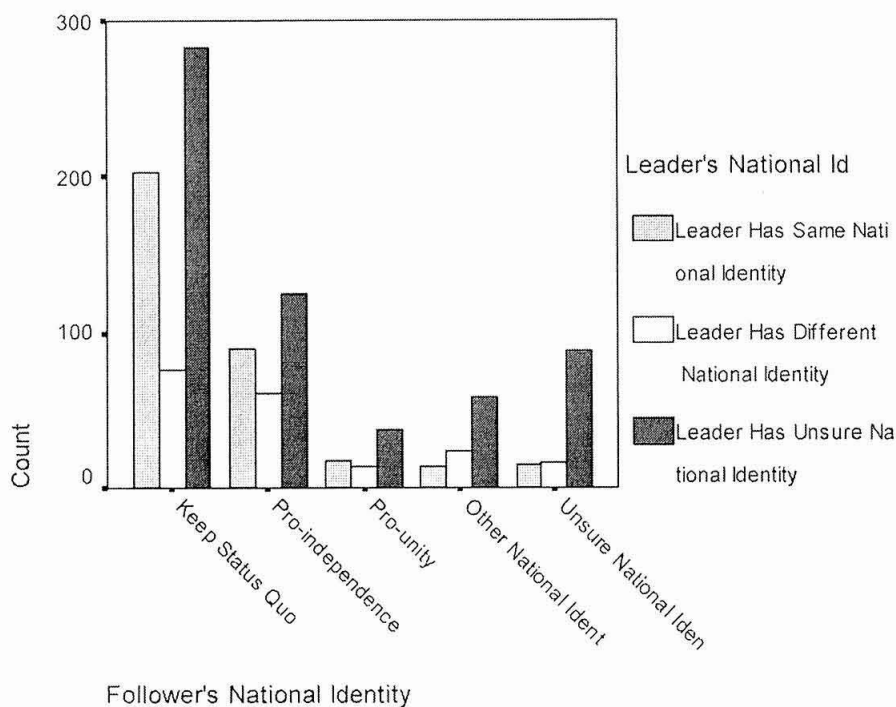


Figure 4-19. Follower's National Identity * Leader's National Identity Cross-tabulation

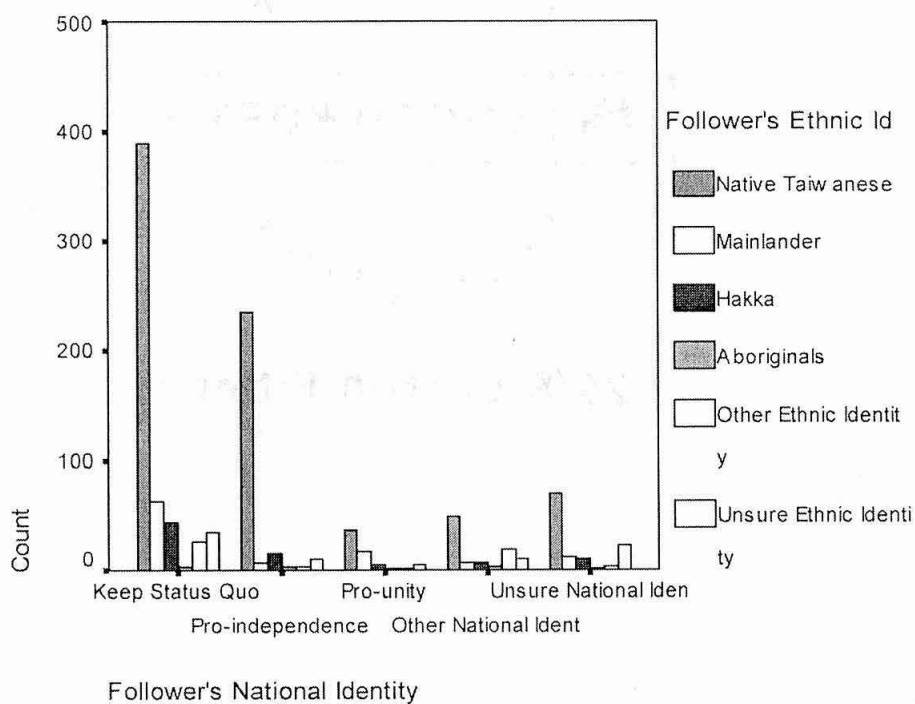


Figure 4-20. Follower's National Identity * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

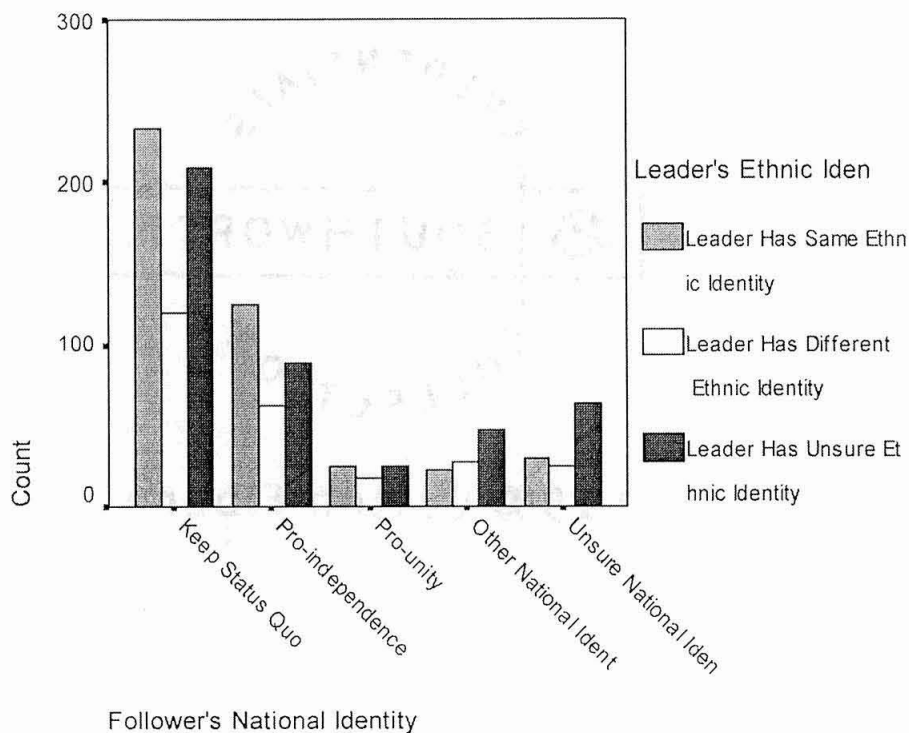


Figure 4-21. Follower's National Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

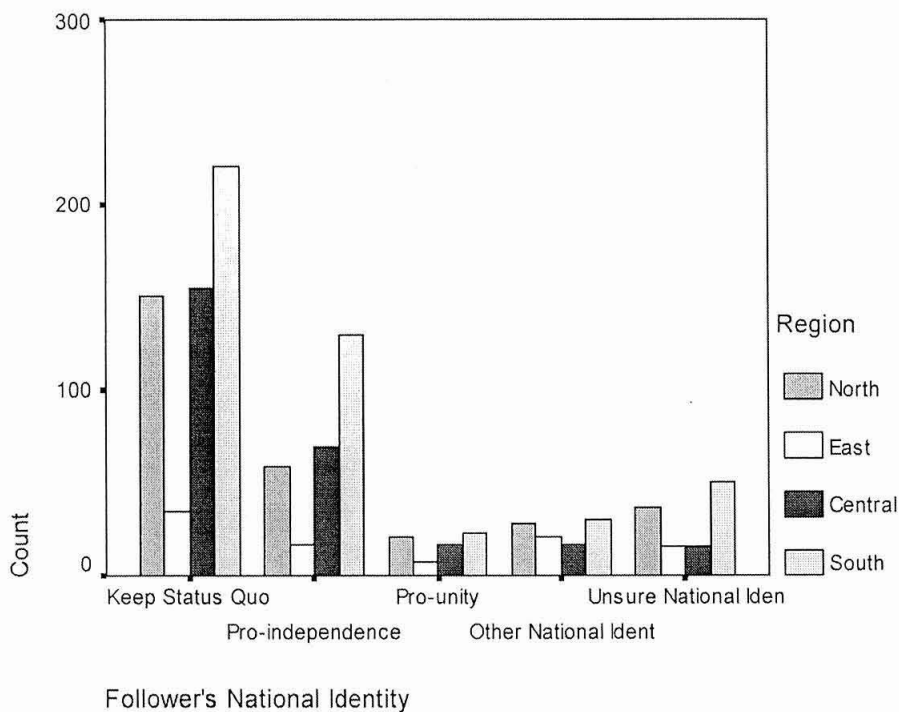


Figure 4-22. Follower's National Identity * Region Cross-tabulation

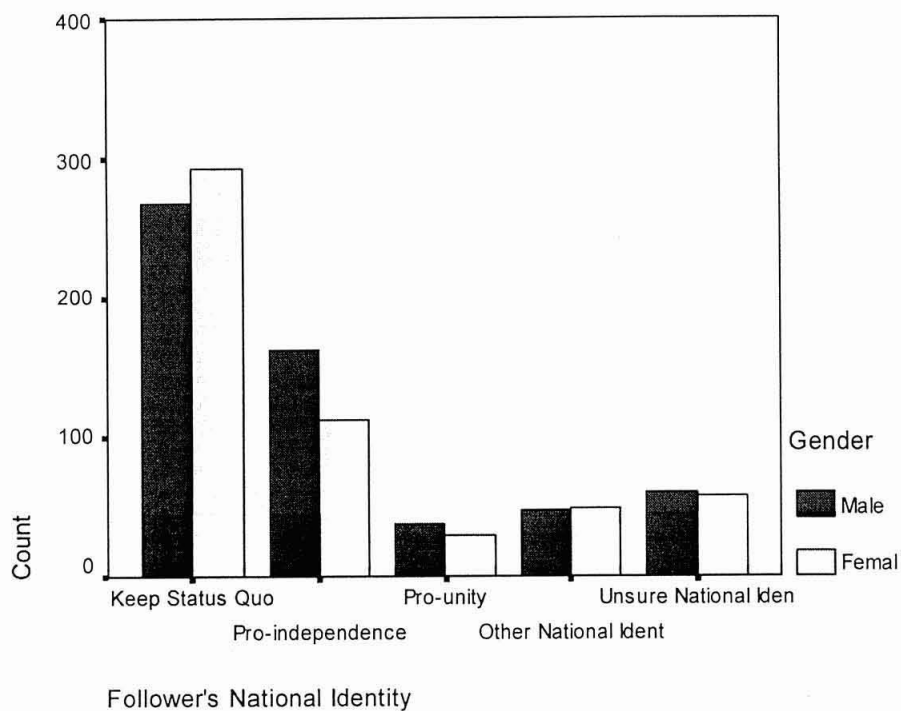


Figure 4-23. Follower's National Identity * Gender Cross-tabulation

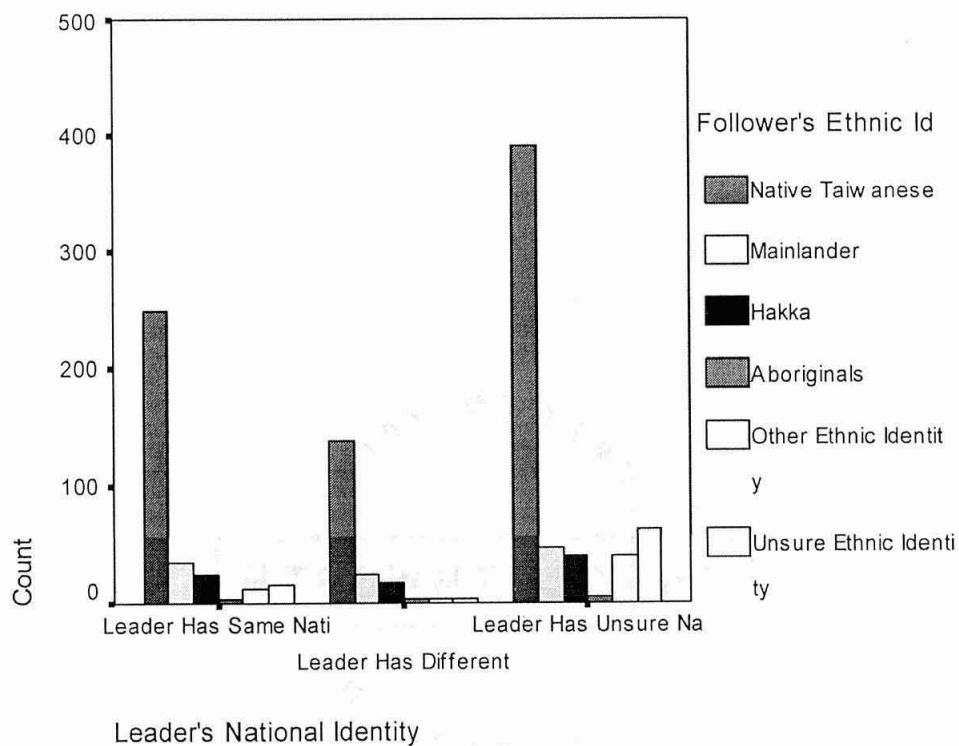


Figure 4-24. Leader's National Identity * Follower's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

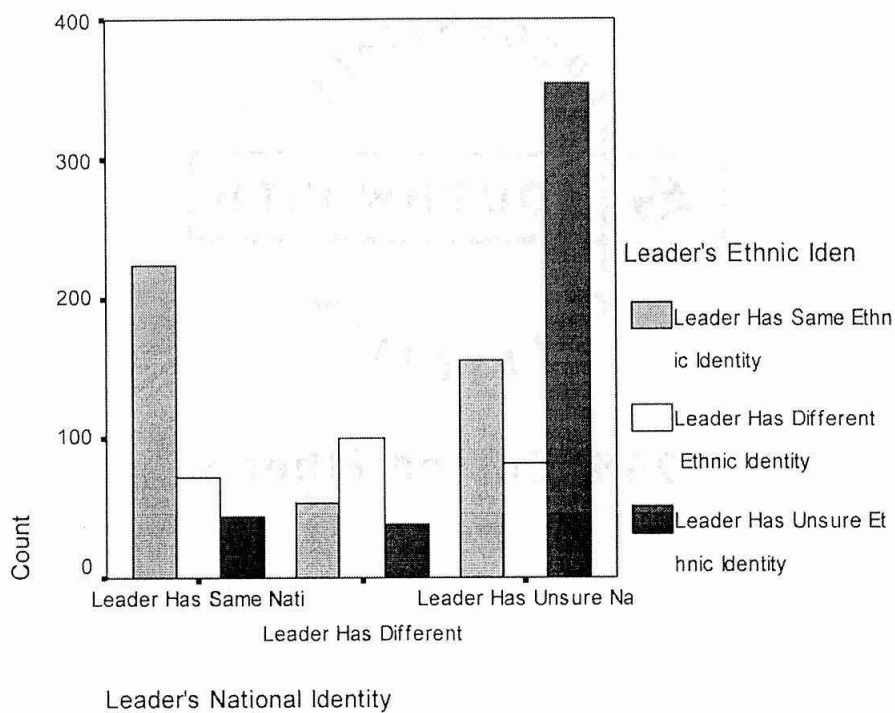


Figure 4-25. Leader's National Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

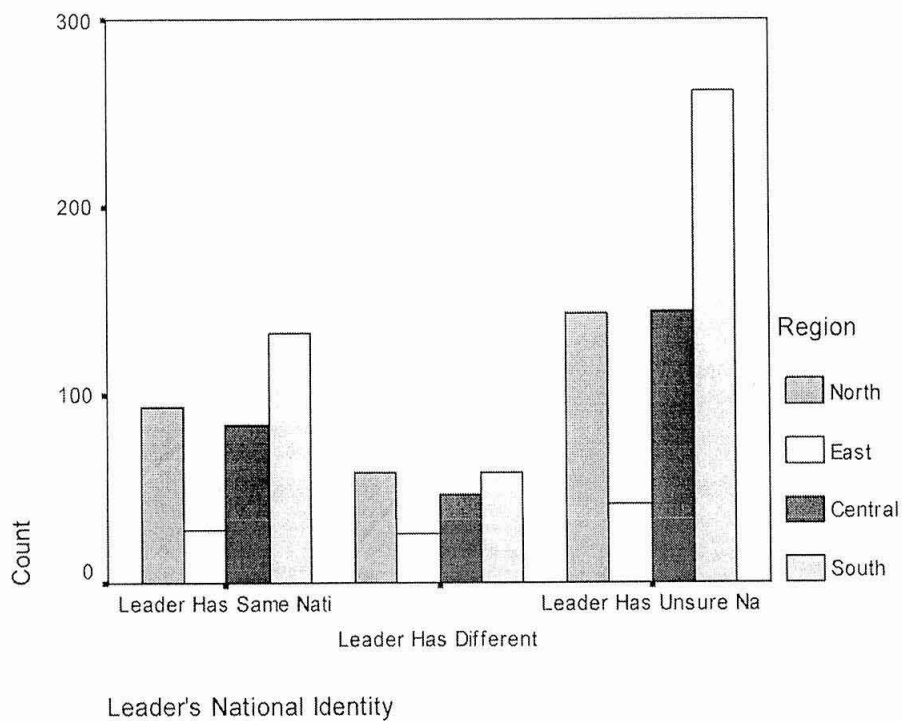


Figure 4-26. Leader's National Identity * Region Cross-tabulation

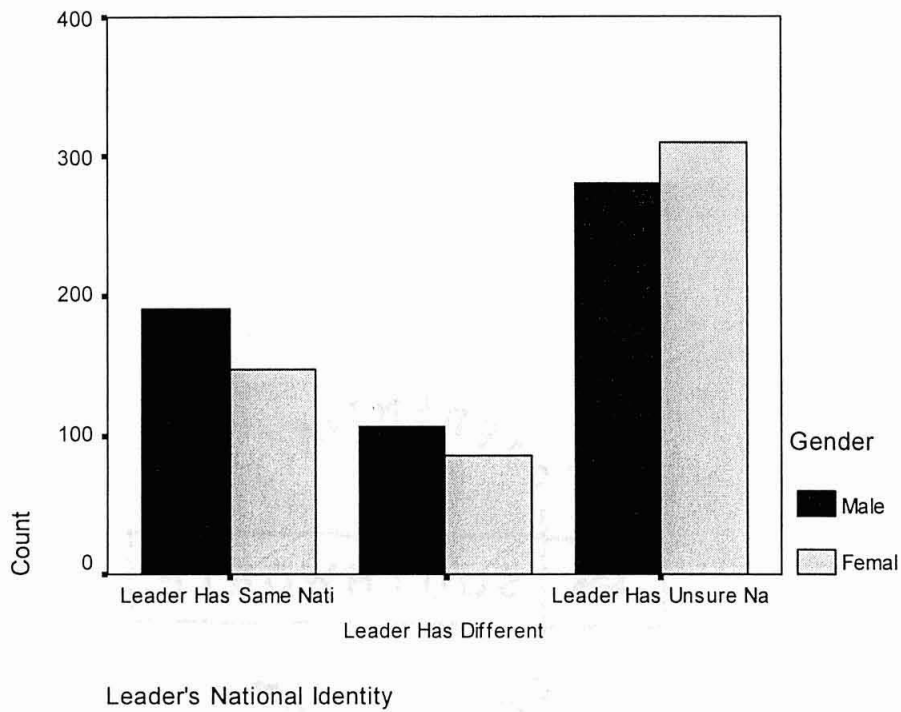


Figure 4-27. Leader's National Identity * Gender Cross-tabulation

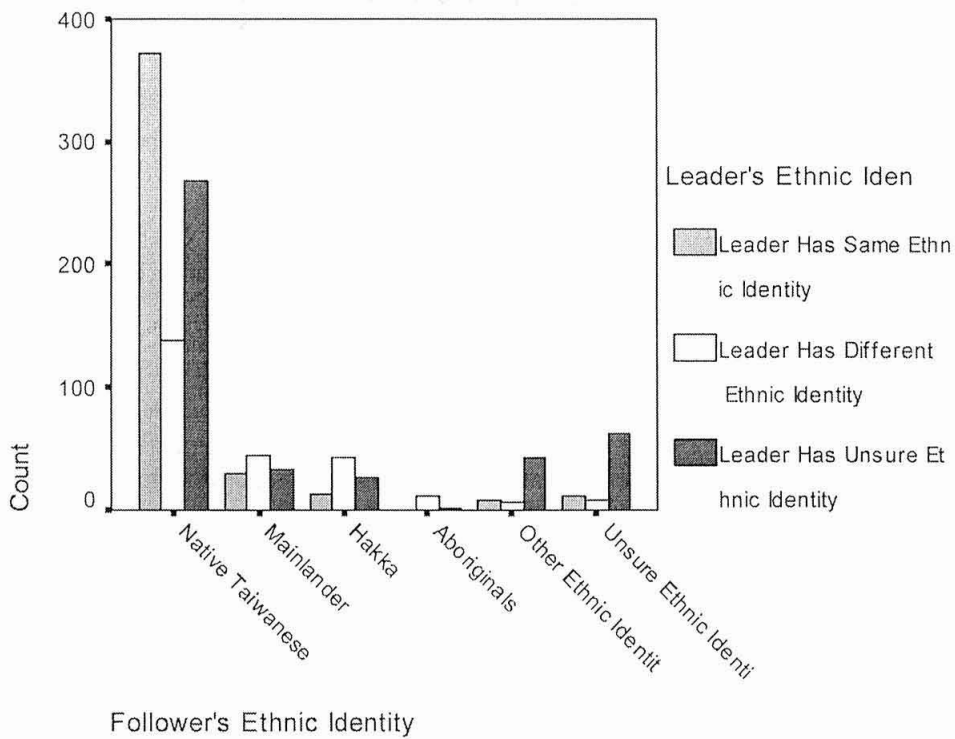


Figure 4-28. Follower's Ethnic Identity * Leader's Ethnic Identity Cross-tabulation

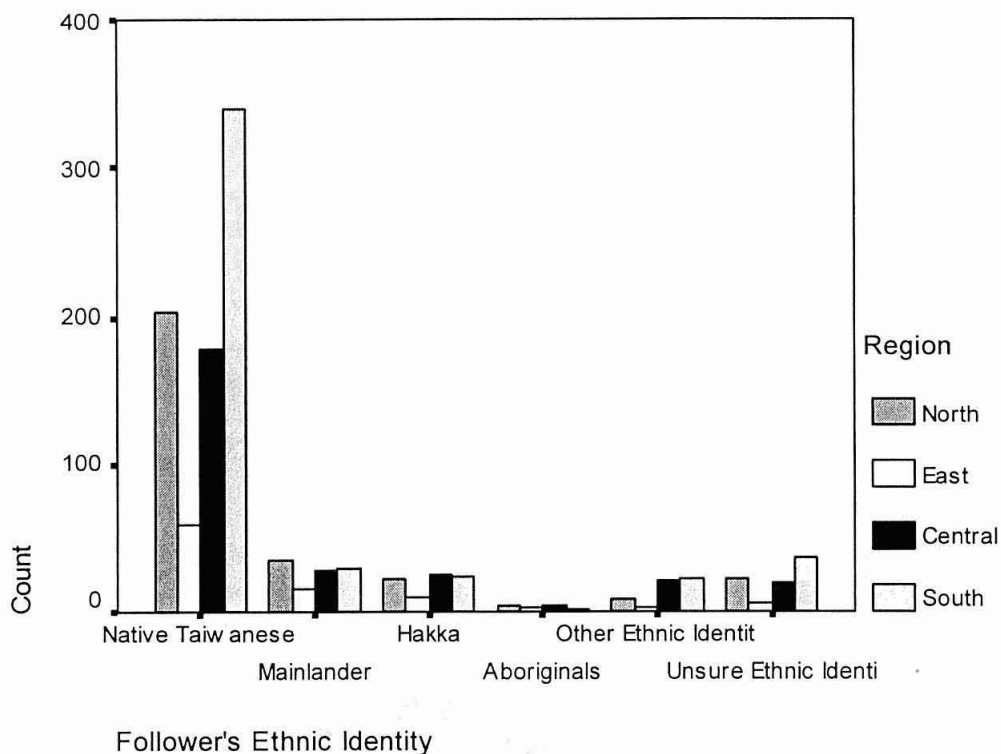


Figure 4-29. Follower's Ethnic Identity * Region Cross-tabulation

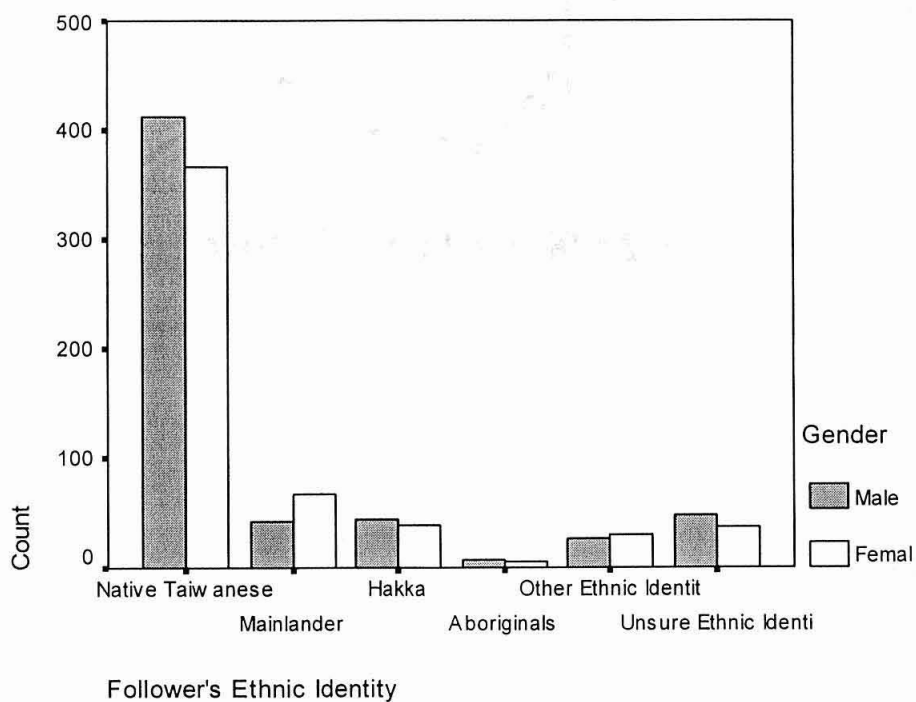


Figure 4-30. Follower's Ethnic Identity * Gender Cross-tabulation

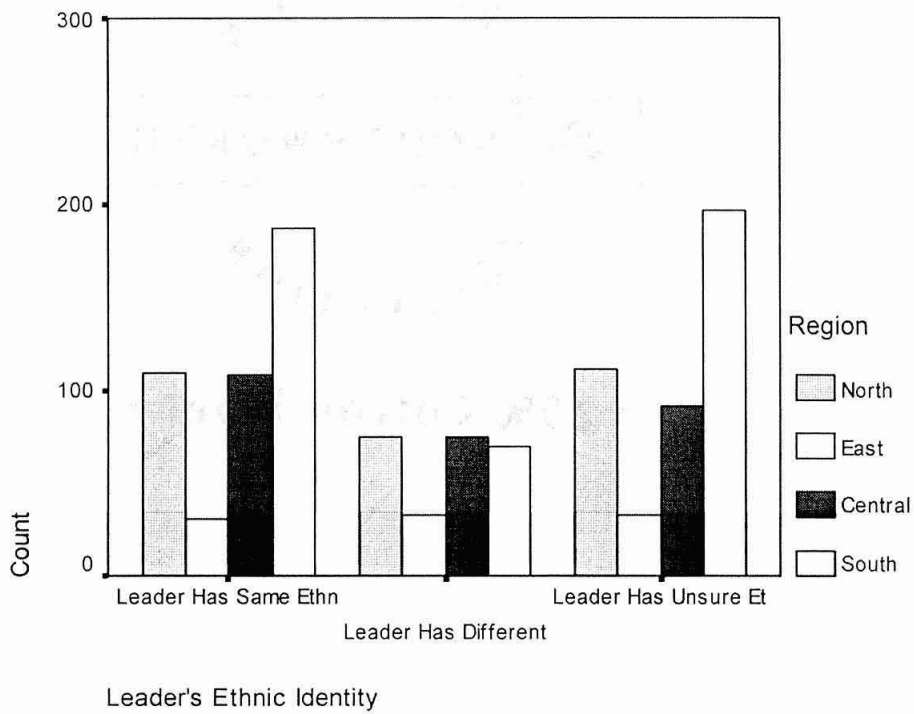


Figure 4-31. Leader's Ethnic Identity * Region Cross-tabulation

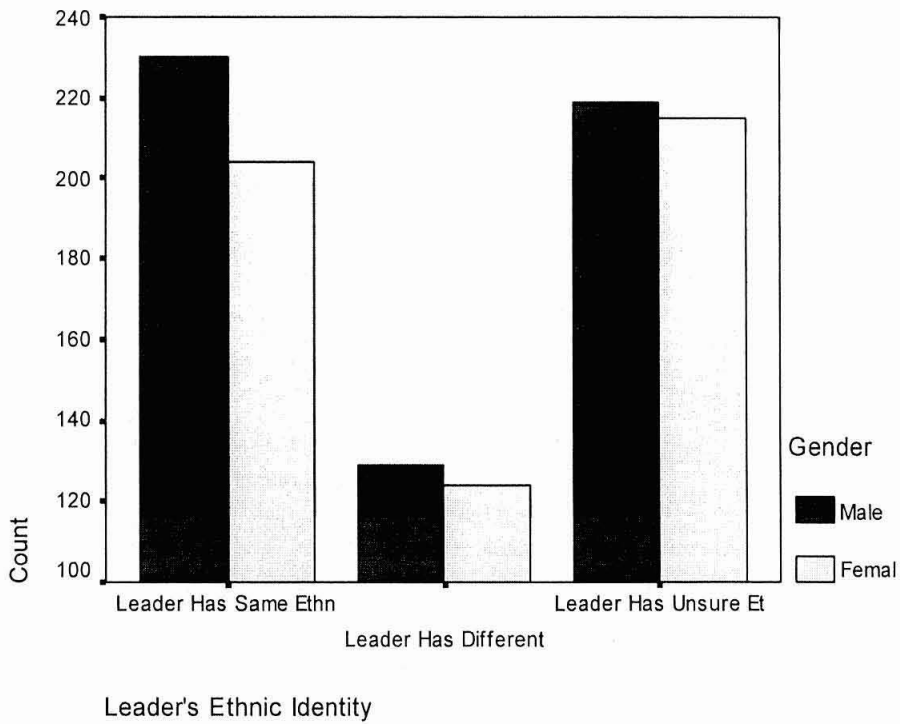


Figure 4-32. Leader's Ethnic Identity * Gender Cross-tabulation

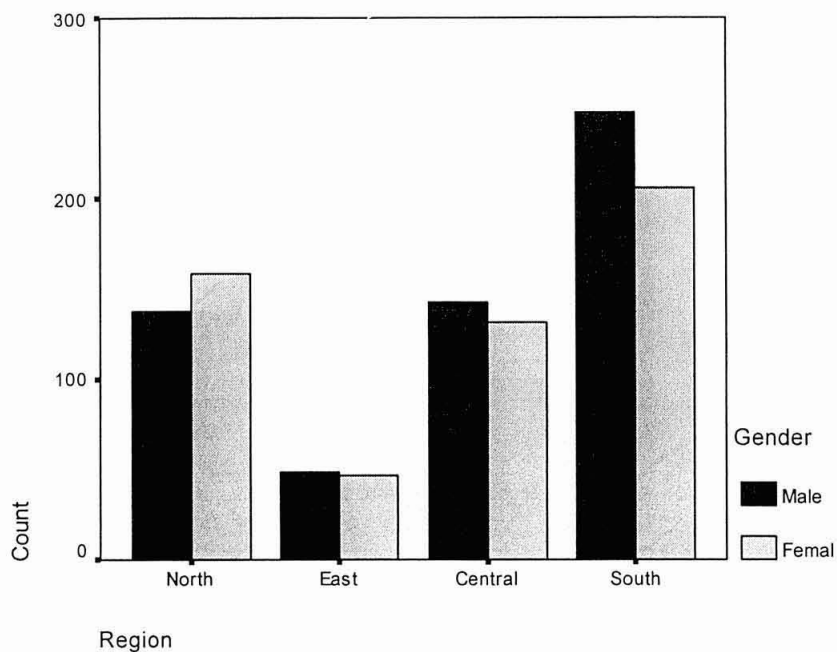


Figure 4-33. Region * Gender Cross-tabulation

Histogram

Dependent Variable: Leadership Performance

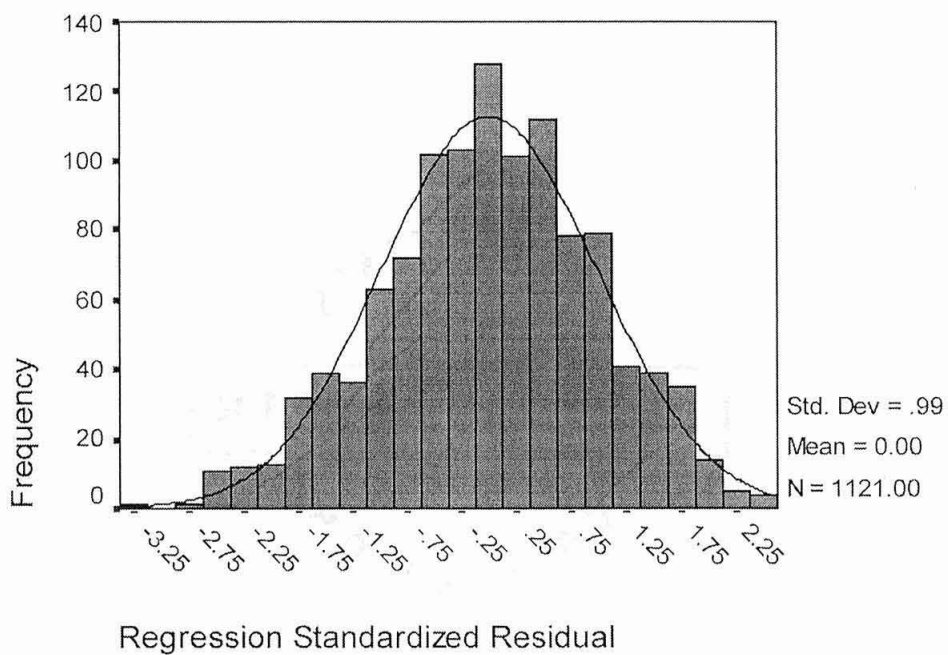


Figure 4-36a. Model 1 Histogram of Regression Standardized Residuals

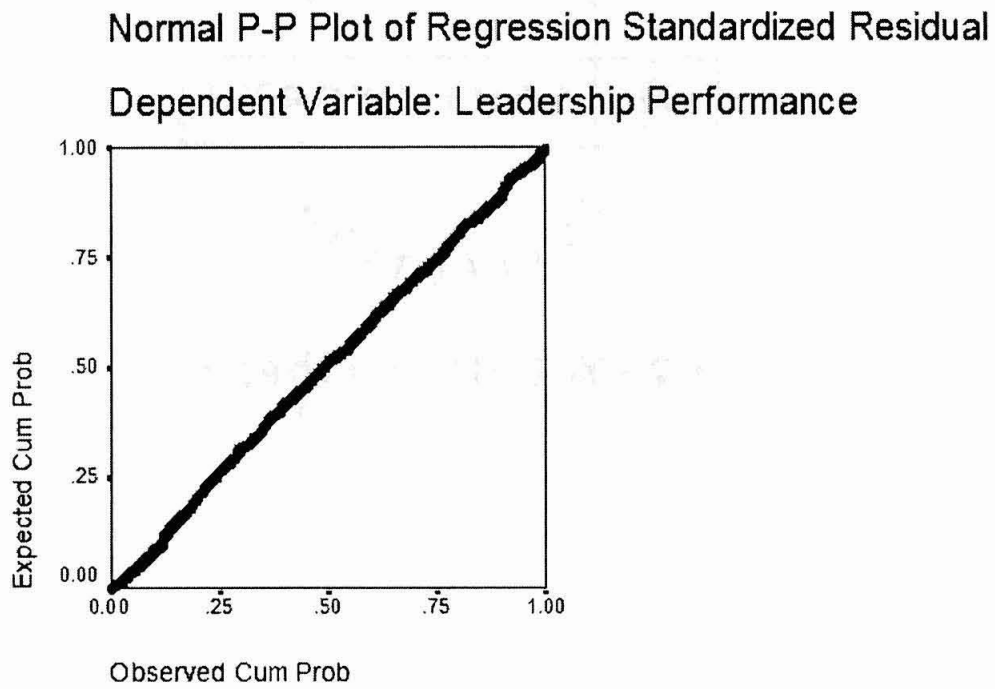


Figure 4-36b. Model 1 Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residuals

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